The Christian East

THE PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW

HIS HOLINESS TIKHON, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, is of clerical descent. After graduating at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy he consecutively filled the posts of Inspector and Rector at theological colleges and was ordained bishop. He was soon transferred to the United States, where he succeeded Bishop Nickolai as Orthodox Bishop in America. During his six to seven years' stay in that country Bishop Tikhon maintained a close contact and friendship with the Anglican Church in America. He returned subsequently to Russia, where he was appointed first Archbishop of Jaroslav and then Vilna.

After the March revolution of 1917, which restored the freedom of the Russian Church and reinstated the elective principle, Archbishop Tikhon was elected Metropolitan of Moscow.

As such he participated in the All-Russian Œcumenic Council, by which, in November, 1917, he was elected Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. His election coincided with the Bolshevist revolution. One of his first acts was the excommunication of the Bolshevist Government. The Patriarch's firm stand against the Soviet tyrants won him the universal homage and love of the Russian people. Immense crowds gathered wherever he went to receive his blessing. No threats of reprisals or death could daunt the Patriarch's calm fortitude. He was placed under domiciliary arrest, but, fearing his popularity, the Government dared not take his life, although there was a strong party in favour of putting him to death. In November, 1918, the Patriarch addressed a powerful encyclical to the Council of People's Commissaries in which he fearlessly exposed them as the "sons of iniquity." The text of this message has appeared in various English papers. To-day he is the one democratic force in Russia and the symbol of its future.

EDITORIAL

IN the promotion of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox two policies are possible.

The one, which is advocated by Professor Headlam in our present issue, is to define terms of Intercommunion such as there is good probability that the great body of Anglicans would endorse, and present

them forthwith to the authorities of the Eastern-Orthodox Autocephalous Churches.

The "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox,"[1] recently published at "the request of the Archbishop's Eastern Committee,"[2] and prepared by a sub-committee of its members, among whom Dr. Headlam himself served, may be taken broadly as an example of the maximum approach to the historic doctrinal position[3] of Orthodoxy which the whole Anglican Communion would support. We propose to examine those terms in detail in our next number. It will be enough to say here that though the Eastern-Orthodox would probably not quarrel much with the statements in them, in our judgment they would find them insufficient.

The other policy, which has also recently been stated[4] by one of our editors, is to prepare the *terrain* for ultimate reunion by the necessarily long and slow process of friendly intercourse, of the exchange of opinion on points of difference, and of the creation of ties of spiritual intimacy, howsoever and whensoever possible without the sacrifice or compromise of principle.

This was the policy urged by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck and adopted by Bishops John Wordsworth, Blyth, and Collins. It is also the policy followed up to the present by the Anglican and Eastern Association.

Its possibilities are confirmed and increased by a weighty monograph received as we go to press, in which Professor Comnenos,[5] of Halki, who was the principal theological expert in the Constantinople Delegation of 1920 to Lambeth, after fully investigating the rite, purpose, and succession of Anglican Orders, urges not only that the Orthodox must accord them parity of acceptance with Roman, Armenian, and other Orders, but also that authority should be given for the mutual reception of all the Sacraments by the members of both Communions.

If our judgment is in favour of the less attractive, less swift, and less bold of these two policies, it is because it appeals to us as the wiser.

In the first place, as Professor Comnenos has told us again, and as the Metropolitan of Nubia[6] told the Geneva Conference last autumn, the Eastern-Orthodox have repeatedly made it clear that for them

[1] "Suggested Terms of Intercommunion with the Eastern-Orthodox," S.P.C.K. 1921. 6d.

[2] It should be noted that the "Suggested Terms" are not published as hall-marked by the Archbishop's Committee, but simply at its request, in the hope that they will promote "further discussion of the whole subject."

[3] *I.e.*, to "the Faith of the first nine centuries."

[4] "The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern-Orthodox." J. A. Douglas. Faith Press. 1921.

[5] Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὰς Προσπαθείας πρὸς Ἕνωσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. Τεῦχος, A., Constantinople. 1921.

[6] See his report to the Patriarch and Holy Synod of Constantinople, published by the World Conference on Faith and Orders.

Reunion—or, which is much the same thing, formal Intercommunion—can be contemplated only on the basis of full dogmatic union. Most Anglo-Catholics would, indeed, adhere to that principle. It is also probable that there is no fundamental difference in matters of doctrine between them and the Eastern-Orthodox. It is otherwise, however, with strong sections of Anglicans that openly controvert the very dogmas which the Eastern-Orthodox Church regards as incontrovertible.

In such circumstances, we take it to be consistent with the best tradition of the Anglican Churches to cultivate the closest relations with the Eastern-Orthodox that are possible, again without sacrifice or loss of principle, and being content with the lesser good, to work and wait on patiently for the greater.

Secondly, it needs no close study of the three previous periods of Anglican *rapprochement*[1] with the Eastern-Orthodox to realize that while Archbishop Laud, who perhaps reached the greatest understanding with them, never addressed himself to negotiating formal Intercommunion, the Non-jurors and the High Churchmen of the seventies failed in their attempts because in all that they said and did they had an eye to the effect which their success would have had upon home controversies. It is thus that we are persuaded that the time at which discussion is in progress as to whether it is possible for the whole Anglican Communion to discover a basis on which it can unite with the body of non-episcopalian English Christianity, is not the time at which to enter upon formal negotiation for the same end with the Eastern-Orthodox. After all, our leaders are only human, and either of these undertakings demands undistracted attention. But to say nothing of that, however much the two movements are connected with each other as parts of the movement to General Reunion, it needs no saying that they are not altogether easy to reconcile.

We hold, therefore, for this secondary reason that the present is not the time to put forward formal proposals for Intercommunion to the Eastern-Orthodox, but that negotiations with them must be postponed until they can take place without the complication of home controversies. *Festina lente.*

THE FUNERAL OF THE LOCUM TENENS

TRANSLATED FROM 'ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ 'ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ

THE funeral of the Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Patriarchate will be remembered in the history of the town of Constantinople as an unforgettable event in the annals of that history. For the exceptional circumstances of the death in England of the Locum

[1] Sc., under Abbot and Laud, after the Restoration, and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Tenens—fighting for the cause of the Christians of the East in Great Britain—added a melancholy interest to the funeral rites performed over such a high dignitary of the Greek Catholic Church.

No conqueror returning home after victory could have met with greater respect and devotion than the dead Locum Tenens, this representative of the entire Greek nation (the Patriarch of Constantinople is literally the head of the Greek nation, and is called Ethnarch) whom a melancholy fate had cut off in the midst of his activities.

From early dawn the roads leading to the Patriarchate from the landing-stage were thronged with dense masses of people, as were also the windows and balconies of the houses there. Flags flew at half-mast over buildings and shops, which were all closed for the occasion.

Inter-Allied police and Turkish gendarmes kept order. The great gathering of the members of the Holy Synod, the Metropolitans sojourning in Constantinople, and the deputy Bishops who were invited to take part in the reception of the mortal remains of the late Locum Tenens was held in the chambers of the higher clergy.

There also were gathered the priests and deacons who would participate in the service.

At three o'clock in the afternoon two steam launches flying the Greek national flag half-mast, and on one of the launches a Byzantine flag (the double-headed eagle, the emblem of Byzantium) and carrying the committee of laymen and the clergy, left the landing-stage and took up a waiting position on either side of the British flagship, H.M.S. *Cardiff*. The Metropolitans of Amasia, Pisidia, and the Dardanelles were the clergy, while MM. Fermanoglou, Kchayouglou, and Papadopoulo, accompanied by the two heads of departments at the Patriarchate. MM. Phyton and Zachariadon, composed the lay committee.

They were received on board the flagship by the captain and officers, to whom the Bishop of Amasia offered a short address. They then awaited the arrival of the British destroyer *Centaur*, which appeared shortly after, bearing the remains of the Ex-Locum Tenens, and anchored off the *Cardiff*.

The officers and crew of the *Cardiff* were all drawn up on deck in an attitude of attention. The Patriarchal Delegation was also assembled according to precedence. As the destroyer glided silently into the waters of the Bosphorus, the dais on which the coffin rested was visible to all, covered by a Greek flag and guarded by British marines.

Both the *Centaur* and the *Cardiff* flew their flags at half-mast, as did all the Allied warships and merchantmen in the harbour.

The Greek Delegation immediately proceeded on board the *Centaur*, and the Bishop of Amasia in a few words full of deep gratitude thanked the captain for conveying the remains of their

beloved Archbishop to Constantinople. He touched upon the friendship shown by the British Government in permitting such marks of respect to be shown to the head of the Greek Church.

The Bishop of Seleukia, wearing his veil and pallium, recited a Trisaghion, after which the bugle sounded, the officers stood with drawn swords and the crew with reversed arms while the coffin was slowly lowered into one of the steam launches by British sailors.

On either side of the launch bearing its precious burden a host of small steamers and launches formed an escort accompanying it to the pier at Phanari.

The sight of the thousands of people assembled on the bridges under which the launch passed, crossing themselves in a deep religious silence, was a truly impressive one.

From every point on the Bosphorus these great crowds seemed to flow in one silent stream towards the point where they could best see the procession pass. On the landing-stage of Phanari, the Protosyncelos, the Great Archdeacon, the Great Ecclesiastic, and eight lay officials belonging to the Patriarchate, who carried the coffin from there to the church, were assembled.

The whole way from the landing-stage to the church of the Patriarchate was lined by dense crowds and policed by the Inter-Allied and Turkish gendarmes.

The procession was then formed, composed of the Metropolitans of Angora, Silivria, Kirk-kilissé, and Tirolois; the other members of the Holy Synod, the former and actual members of the committee, the Ὀφφιυίαλοι, and other officials of the Patriarch's court.

At its head walked officers belonging to the Patriarchate, followed by Inter-Allied police; then came next the Exapteryga, the readers of the Archbishopric, the clergy in white vestments; the leading Metropolitans, the Bishops of Eirenoupolis, Myra, Scopelos, Appoloniados, Constantias, Amphipolis, Neapolis, and Troad.

At the side of the coffin walked deacons robed in white and carrying large wax candles. A huge concourse of people followed.

On the arrival of the funeral procession at the church, the coffin was placed on a dais covered over by a black and white silk cloth, and the appointed Trisaghion was sung while the bells tolled. Then followed the intoning of the "Blessed be thy memory," which is a farewell taken by the officiating clergy, who did reverence in front of the coffin, led by the Bishop of Angora.

During the singing of the Trisaghion, the present Locum Tenens, together with other Bishops, remained within the Holy Sanctuary. Afterwards he received all who attended in the church in the great hall of the Patriarchate.

Within and without the church during the ceremony, Cretan

gendarmes and Greek officers rendered military honours to the dead.

The public was then admitted freely into the church, and the lying-in-state began, during which time, and immediately after the Trisaghion was concluded, passages from the Psalms, Prophecies, and Apostolic Acts were read by priests in turn, lasting throughout the whole night.

It being Sunday the next day, the customary liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, which is used for the funerals of Patriarchs, was celebrated, at which the Metropolitans of Silivria, Kirk-kilissé, and Tirnobo officiated. They were assisted by others amongst the higher clergy. A Trisaghion was then intoned, and the public was again admitted to the church to the lying-in-state, which was kept in the right wing of the church near the holy relics of St. Euphemia[1] and other saints, whence the coffin had been removed. The priests continued to read the passages of the Gospel and Psalms appointed for this occasion, while the crowds of people continued to press unceasingly in front of the bier.

The number of people that did reverence before the bier must have amounted to several thousands. The vast crowds that lined the streets and thoroughfares leading to the Patriarchate must have been of equal numbers, judging by their denseness.

Even greater were the crowds on the day of the funeral itself. A strong police force kept order in the streets from Emin Onou to the Phanari, chiefly composed of French and Italian gendarmes, with a mixture of Turkish zaptiehs.

The decoration of the church was exceedingly simple. The coffin was placed on a white hornblock, and was covered by a white embroidered silk cloth covered with black Byzantine crosses, over which was thrown the Patriarchal standard. The Gospel was placed on this, and bands of white silk were draped round the entire dais; two great wax candles shed their light at the foot of the coffin, and were decorated with knots of white ribbon. No flowers were laid on the coffin. The great centre door was closed and hung with black curtains with white crosses on it, before which some of the more devout, including some Russians and Serbs, knelt in prayer.

The official representatives of the Allied Powers were met at the door by the committee appointed for that purpose, and conducted to their respective places.

The funeral service began at two o'clock, presided over by the new Locum Tenens, the Bishop Nicolas of Cæsarea, and assisted by twelve other Bishops chosen from the Holy Synod, and from the Bishops sojourning in Constantinople.

[1] The coffin in which the scrolls were placed at the Council of Chalcedon. It was saved in 1453.

Robed in their gorgeous vestments, without the mitre on their heads, they formed a semicircle about the bier and the Beautiful Gate. The deputy Bishops, the priests, and sixteen deacons holding lighted tapers, were also assembled near the bier.

The funeral prayers, after being first intoned by the Locum Tenens, were repeated by all the Bishops present, also by the Russian Bishop of Bessarabia, the Serbian priest, and the Anglican priest, who in turn each repeated the prayers. The Locum Tenens then read the Gospel from the Patriarchal Throne, which was followed by an address from the pulpit by the Archimandrite Alexander Zotos, the head of the Greek school in Constantinople.

In an eloquent address he referred to the activities of the deceased Locum Tenens in the great struggle of the Greek people; how he braved the inclemency and hardships of a long journey in winter in order to visit the British capital, and exchanged the pastoral staff for that of the suppliant in order to carry this out, hoping that by his presence he could persuade those in high authority to listen to his plea for the Eastern Christians. He declared the death of the much lamented Locum Tenens to be a national disaster, at the same time reminding his hearers that Providence often sent these disasters to those of His people who had wandered from the straight path—in this case, perhaps, it was meant as a chastisement for Greece's deviation from the path marked out for her by her great leader.

In conclusion, he addressed words of thanks publicly to the Government of King George of England and the head of the Anglican Church for their expressions of sympathy on this sad occasion.

Then came the chanting by the choir of that farewell to the dead in the words of the "Come, take a last farewell," which was the signal for the Locum Tenens to approach and devoutly kiss the Gospel lying on the top of the coffin, and to press reverently his lips on the coffin itself. All the other clergy in rotation followed his example.

The coffin, borne by officials of the Patriarchate and headed by the clergy and Exapteryga and three Bishops, was carried to the landing-stage of Phanari, where it was put on board a tow-boat. Two other boats were occupied by the clergy and lay officials attending, while a host of other craft of all sizes and descriptions accompanied them.

The shores were lined with vast crowds gathered there for the purpose of seeing the funeral procession pass. As it passed under the ancient walls of Bysantium, near the shores of Ypsomathion and Heptapyrgion, and in front of the historic old church, the launch carrying the bier stopped and a Trisaghion was sung. The procession arrived at Kazli at four o'clock, and was received by the Bishop of Myreon and a vast concourse of people. The coffin was placed on a hearse sur-

mounted by a double-headed eagle, a Byzantine flag, and palls with the Byzantine colours.

In front walked the Metropolitans of Angora, Silivria, and Kirk-kilessé, preceded by two mounted police belonging to the Patriarchate; the Armenian orphans, the Exapteryga, the deacons and priests, Greek, Russian, Armenian, and Serbian. Then came the Metropolitans and the Anglican priest, Mr. Borrow, and the coffin, surrounded by Cretan gendarmes, and Greek officers and soldiers.

Outside the Armenian Church of Haghia Paraskevi, the procession stopped for a Trisaghion to be read; it then moved on to Balukli, where it arrived at the church of the Zoodochon Pighi, and was met by the deputy Bishop of Balukli and the parish priests. A Trisaghion was sung, in which the Anglican priest, Mr. Borrow, also takes part.

The burial took place in the grounds of the church, in the allotted space of burial for a Patriarch, all the Bishops, clergy, laymen, and people joining in the last "Eternal be thy memory" as the coffin was lowered into the grave.

Only two wreaths of laurel leaves were deposited on the grave, and were those of the community of Broussa and of his native land of Syghi, on the white ribbons of which the words were inscribed: "Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Broussa and Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Throne, an illustrious offspring and pastor of our native land, which honours thee mournfully."

THE ELECTION OF AN ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH

By Archdeacon T. MALTHOURAS

I HAVE often been asked by Englishmen as to how the election of a Patriarch of Constantinople takes place. Undoubtedly this question is the outcome of the great and vivid interest shown by many divines of the Anglican Church in the course of our national and ecclesiastical affairs.

I will do my best here to give an accurate description of such an election, according to the ecclesiastico-political statutes, which were valid before the War. In doing so I shall avoid discussing whether the way of the election based on these laws is adequate or not, leaving that matter to the judgment of my readers.

The full titles of the head of the Eastern Orthodox Church are as follows: The Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch. We can distinguish three points in this title.

1. He is now styled Archbishop, though he was once a mere bishop, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Heraclea.

2. He is Archbishop of New Rome, for the second Œcumenical Synod, after the translation of the Imperial Throne from Rome to Constantinople, recognized him as Archbishop of New Rome, and consequently as second in rank after the Pope.

3. He is styled Œcumenical Patriarch, since the time of the Patriarch John the Faster, to whom this title was first officially offered by the Emperor Justinian and the Synod of Constantinople in the year 553.

We are not here concerned to trace the history of the Patriarchs before and after the fall of Constantinople. For our end it will be enough to consider his ecclesiastico-political position up till the War.

(*a*) *His ecclesiastical importance* consists in the fact that, amongst the heads of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches, he is the first in rank and the president.

(*b*) *His political importance* depended on his recognition by the Sultan as the spiritual and national leader of the unredeemed Orthodox Christians who live in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently the privileges and the rights of the Orthodox Christians recognized by Muhammad II., called the Conqueror, are centred in and protected by him.

It is due to this double importance which he possesses that in his appointment both the Church of which he is spiritual leader and the Turkish State have a voice. But although they both co-operate in the election, it is to be noted that, as we shall see, the rôle of the Turkish State is entirely negative.

An election, of course, becomes necessary on the resignation, deposition, or death of an Œcumenical Patriarch. As soon as the Throne is declared vacant, the Holy Synod of Constantinople, which consists of twelve Metropolitans, sit in joint conference with the Mixed National Council, and the two bodies together proceed to the election of a *locum tenens*.

1. They give a formal notice of this election to the Sublime Porte—*i.e.*, the Turkish Government.

2. They inform, by encyclical letters, all the Metropolitans of the Œcumenical Patriarchate that a *locum tenens* has been elected, and invite them to send in a sealed envelope a card, on which they must write the name of the candidate for the throne whom they prefer.

3. By means of formal letters addressed to the twenty-eight privileged dioceses, they invite the Christians of those dioceses to appoint a representative, who will attend at Constantinople within the period of forty-one days at the most from the day of the election of the *locum tenens*.

4. The Metropolitans, of whom the Synod consists, as well as all the other Metropolitans who happen to be present in Constantinople

at the time, must act uniformly with the other Metropolitans to whom the election ticket was sent.

The Metropolitan of Heraclea is invited to come to Constantinople, for he enjoys the right of giving the pastoral staff to the new Patriarch. This is a sign that Constantinople formerly was under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It should be noted that strictly no Metropolitan from any diocese is allowed to go to Constantinople during the vacancy of the throne.

Five days before the expiration of the period of forty-one days which we have mentioned above, the *locum tenens* invites, by means of formal letters, all the members entitled to attend at the General Electoral Conference to come together on a fixed day at a fixed hour.

This General Electoral Conference consists of—

(*a*) *Clergy:* The Metropolitans, who form the Holy Synod, the *locum tenens*, the Metropolitan of Heraclea, and the Metropolitans that happened to be present in Constantinople at the vacancy.

(*b*) *Laity:* (1) The members of the Mixed National Council, eight in number. (2) Three superior officials of the Patriarchal House. (3) Three Orthodox Greeks of those in the service of the Turkish State. (4) Two Orthodox Greeks bearing the Turkish military title of Colonel. (5) Three Greek members of the Civil Service. (6) The Governor of Samos or his representative in Constantinople. (7) Three delegates from the countries lying on the banks of Danube (Paradunabian countries). (8) Four Orthodox Greek representatives of Science. (9) Five Orthodox Greek representatives of Commerce. (10) Ten Orthodox Greek representatives of the main Trade Societies. (11) One Orthodox Greek representing the Bankers. (12) Two representatives of the parishes of the Bosphorus. (13) The twenty-eight representatives of the above-mentioned privileged dioceses.

This Conference of the clergy and laity holds its meeting in the Patriarchal House with shut doors. After a short address by the *locum tenens*, the sealed election tickets are opened, and the names of the candidates which they contain are then registered in a list kept by the Secretary, together with the number of votes obtained by every candidate.

If any lay members of the Conference wish to propose the names of any Metropolitans as candidates, these are added to the list of the candidates, but only in the case that they are approved by two-thirds of the clerical members of the Conference. The list thus formed is sealed and signed by the *locum tenens*, the Synod of the Metropolitans, and the members of the mixed National Council.

But since the Patriarch is also the National leader, the Turkish Government has certain rights as to his election. The above list of candidates is sent at once to the Sublime Porte, and if the Sultan

thinks some of the candidates to be politically disqualified for the office he strikes their names from the list, which is sent back within twenty-four hours, in order that the final election of the Patriarch may take place. A second General Council is then assembled, constituted as above. The *locum tenens* announces to the members the decision of the Turkish Government—*i.e.*, whether the Government has disqualified any candidates or not. In the case of any disqualification, the election must be restricted to the candidates not disqualified.

Every member of the Conference indicates by ballot three candidates of his choice from the names in the list. After the counting, the three Metropolitans receiving the majority of votes are indicated as the exclusive candidates for the office of Patriarch. Soon after all the members of the General Conference descend to the cathedral of St. George. There, after a short ceremony, a new ballot takes place, in which, however, only the clerical members take part. The candidate who obtains the majority of votes is declared the new Patriarch. If two candidates obtain the same number of votes the *locum tenens* has the casting vote. The election being thus completed must be announced at once to the Sublime Porte, which notifies to the new Patriarch the fixed day and hour on which he must present himself directly before the Sultan and obtain his official recognition by the Turkish Government.

The presentation of the new Patriarch is accompanied by the same magnificent pomp which prevailed at the time of the Byzantine Emperors.

The only difference is one of great importance. The Emperor then was a Christian and naturally a defender of Christian religion, whilst now the Sultan is a Mohammedan and protects Mohammedanism at the expense of the Greek and Armenian Christians.

THE MARTYR-PATRIARCH GREGORY V.'S CANONIZATION

By E. KEPHALA

THE ceremony of the Canonization of the Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V. was held with due solemnity in the Cathedral at Athens on April 22 (the anniversary of his martyrdom in the year 1821), which day will be in future considered as his festival.

The King and Royal Family, together with all the official world, including the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Holy Synod of Greece, attended in state.

The service opened with the singing by the choir of the new troparion, composed by the Holy Synod in praise of the new Saint. The

Bishop of Zante then read the act of the Holy Synod from the pulpit, which declares: "The Archbishop of Constantinople and Œcumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church Gregory V. to be henceforth a Saint of that Church, having suffered a martyr's death on the gallows for the sake of Christ and His flock."

After the act of the Holy Synod had been read, the choir sang the new apolytikion of the Saint written in pure Byzantine style as follows:

"The Peloponnesus, the much admired land of thy birth, Martyr Gregory, reared in beauty, rejoices at thy glory.

"The glorious city of Athens delights also in enclosing in her sacred soil thy revered relics.

"Being thus, let us cry, Glory to Almighty God."

The Patriarch of Alexandria, followed by the members of the Holy Synod, then signed the act of the Canonization of the Saint, during which time the Archbishop of Athens offered up an appropriate prayer. He then in a short address to all present enumerated the virtues of the newly canonized Saint.

On the next day (Sunday) a liturgy was held in memory of the blessed Martyr Gregory, the first official recognition, so to say, of his place in the Hagiology of the Church.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory V., was among the first to suffer martyrdom at the hands of the Turks after the insurrection of the Greek nation in 1821.

Although an old man, of saintly character, he was dragged out by the Moslem mob from church on Easter Sunday and hung in front of the door of the Patriarchal buildings. His body was then taken down and handed over to the Jewish rabble of Balata, as an act of derision and scorn; and after being trampled upon and having suffered every indignity it was finally thrown into the sea. The body was, however, rescued by the Greeks, who conveyed it to Odessa, where it received burial at the hands of the Orthodox Russians. It was subsequently removed to Athens and interred in a sumptuous tomb in the Cathedral.

The Patriarch whose martyrdom during the first year of the Greek rebellion raised such a storm of indignation has connections in this country who are descendants of a brother of his, whose granddaughter married into an Irish family.

It will be perhaps of interest to readers of THE CHRISTIAN EAST to know that Mr. R. B. Sheridan, the barrister and journalist, who writes with great knowledge on all matters appertaining to the Greek Orthodox Church (of which he is a member) and Greek national affairs, can claim, through his mother, a family connection with the newly canonized Saint Gregory V.

IMPRESSIONS OF LONDON

By the Archimandrite GERMANOS

[This interview with the Archimandrite Germanos, Under-Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate, who accompanied the Locum Tenens to London, is translated from a Constantinople daily paper.]

"WHAT did you think of the Anglican Church on closer acquaintance with it?"

"The life of the Anglican Church is a thing unimaginable. The Anglican clergy is unparalleled in the way it enters into the moral and social as well as the practical side of the Gospel, and has thereby obtained an unequalled influence over the entire family life of the people. Any extract or page from their books dealing with such questions introduces you at once into a new world of teachings and ideas which are productive of a fine conception of ethics. And is this all? No; everywhere there are open-air speakers addressing the people, lectures, special courses, and special meetings which strengthen and develop the firm sense of morality which is inherent in every Englishman."

"What do they think of the greatly desired Union of the Churches?"

"Many theologians with whom we have repeatedly exchanged ideas on the subject consider the Union, at present at least, to be impossible, because there must be first more unity amongst Anglicans themselves. The feeling shown by Anglican theologians in favour of the Union of the Churches can be further strengthened, so as to draw closer that moral and social union between us which already exists. Moreover, this union will prepare the ground for the fuller and more definitive Union to come. But while saying this, the Anglican clergy make it clear that the recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders is a primary necessity."

"And do you suppose that this recognition of the validity of Anglican Orders will be obtained?"

"My opinion is that the question of recognition will be solved satisfactorily at a Synod to be held shortly. Many theologians, as well as members of the clergy and the laity, have already come to a decision on this point."

"Did you discuss all these points with the more weighty amongst the Anglican Churchmen?"

"With the highest amongst the clergy itself, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the former Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Gore, and others."

"What impression did the Patriarchal Delegation make on the heads of the Anglican Church?"

"An admirable one. For both they, as well as those less highly placed, understand that, besides other matters, the Delegation went to England in order to procure, through British action, a living position for the Christians of the East. This much pleased them, and I can assure you that the idea has been taken up by all, great and small alike, with the sincerity and uprightness which characterizes the British people."

"Does the Archbishop of Canterbury take this view?"

"Certainly, since all the ecclesiastical authorities look to him with the greatest respect. You must understand, too, that the soil has been well prepared for friendship with the British, and this, in my opinion, will be of benefit to us in the future both nationally and ecclesiastically."

"What did you think of the Greek community in London?"

"Very flourishing from every point of view, carrying with it authority and able to make itself heard in matters connected with Greek questions. M. Calvocoressi, the President, is greatly esteemed, and is one of the few members of our communities abroad who, by his ardent activity, may be reckoned a national factor."

Our conversation brought us back to the regard shown by people in England for the advancement of our national affairs.

"I cannot adequately represent to you," Father Germanos said to us, "the great importance they attach to our Church. One cannot depict their feelings of love and respect for this Church. No opportunity is omitted to impress British public opinion with the necessity of liberating the Christians of the East. Their Press, special meetings, and, indeed, every other kind of means, are employed to attain this end. We also have worked in every way possible. The ground, so successfully prepared by the late Locum Tenens, assisted by the Patriarchal Delegates, must in future be cultivated with great care."

"What do you think the most efficient way of accomplishing this?"

"First and foremost the adoption of a very important decision of the Holy Synod which was arrived at some time ago, and by which it was decided to appoint in London a permanent Delegate and representative of the Greek Church. You cannot imagine how imperative this is. It is scarcely necessary to add that whoever is appointed to this post of representative of the Greek Church must be chosen with great care. He must, in fact, be one of our clergy most distinguished, not only for their piety, but also for the deepness of their learning. I think all that I have just told you is sufficiently important, and should be duly emphasized in competent circles; these aims must be understood and diligently pursued."

We thanked our informant and took leave of him. By other members of the Delegation we were informed that the death of the

Locum Tenens ought rather to be ascribed to intense fatigue than to the precarious state of his health. Before he even arrived in London he showed signs on the journey of this great fatigue, which increased on his arrival in London, owing to frequent visits to eminent persons, the alternate interviews with newspaper reporters, and invitations to dinner and other functions which kept him incessantly occupied. His illness was caused by a chill contracted by going out to preach and officiate at a service in the Greek Church of St. Sophia in London.

INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP VELIMIROVIĆ

[*Bishop Nickolai Velimirović, who since March had been in America on a lecturing tour at the invitation of the Carnegie Educational Institute and the American Federal Council of the Churches, has lately passed through London on his way back to Serbia. During his stay he ordained the reader Constantine deacon in the Russian Church in Welbeck Street, preached at the Russian Liturgy at St. Mary-le-Bow, visited the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and found time to give an interview to our representative, the substance of which has already been printed in the "Church Times."*]

BISHOP NICKOLAI thought that his time in America had been well spent. In two months he had delivered 140 lectures and sermons. He had made many friends, learning much and profiting much by intercourse with them. He had been greatly struck by the extraordinary friendliness towards England of the great body of Americans, of whatever original nationality, and by the friendship, without sacrifice of principle, which exists among all the religious denominations, the Roman Catholics alone standing somewhat aloof from the rest. He had, in fact, heard much more criticism of America in England than of England in America.

At the consecration of Bishop Manning in St. John the Divine, Brooklyn, for the see of New York, representatives of practically all the denominations in America were present. Bishop Nickolai took part in the consecration, laying hands upon the Bishop-elect, and praying that he might have grace to be a good Christian Bishop.

Asked what his expectation was in regard to Russia, he replied that he loved Russia very much, and was hopeful for her immediate future. In Russia to-day the two great forces are the Bolsheviks and the Church. As things clear, the strength of the Church is both becoming more apparent and greater. He had been told that there had been a great religious procession through the streets of Petrograd, when the people insisted upon the Bolshevik guards uncovering as it passed; the soldiers did not dare refuse, nor did they take action afterwards. All depended upon the ability of the better element in Russia to find a policy; at present some said, "We want a Tsar," others said, "We will have no Tsar; we must have a republic." There is a possible third

course. Many Englishmen say, "We expect something new, a great development and experiment in Russia, something that will be the product of the Slav temperament and genius." As things are, some Russians still look to Asia and wish once more to borrow Asiatic despotism. Others think that the English expect them to copy English institutions, and propose to have a Duma. What will save Russia? It is the Church which is fighting Bolshevism, and alone will and can save her. The time and the psychology of the Russian people are calling for what may well be termed a democratic theocracy. Let all Christian Russians—and there are few real Russians who are not Christians—unite in determining to restore Russia by electing the Patriarch of Moscow as Tsar for a term of years, not as an autocratic Tsar, but as a Tsar who will be the spiritual father of his people; who, like the good King of England, will not meddle in politics, but will be above them; who will give a great spiritual ideal to his people, and leave them to work out its application. That is something which will be new, and will create a new principle in State Government. It will make a great bid to the world to be a Christian world.

It might be asked whether such a preponderance of the Church in the State would not be the cause of endless conflicts. But the Patriarch Tikhon is a saintly and a wise man. He would not desire to interfere or to aggrandize the Church; also he would not be given the power. He would be like the English King. On the other hand, for the true Russian the State and the Church must always be identified, for the Orthodox Slav the world must be the Kingdom of Christ. What would be impossible in England would be natural in Russia. The old autocratic Russia is dead. Russia itself is to-day being attacked by a false democracy which can be no rule of the people, for the soul of Russia must die or be ruled in the name of Christ. To live, Russia must be a theocracy—*i.e.*, she must be a democratic theocracy. The people must govern themselves, but their instinct bids them to seek God's governance. They are a nation of mystics. God must rule them. The symbol of the State must be God's representative. The Tsar's strength was that he was that. Free Russia must have a democratic representative of God as its head. Otherwise the Bolsheviks will remain the gaolers of Russia until she is altogether dead.

Invited to say something of the see of Ochrida, whither Bishop Nickolai has been translated from Zica, to which he was consecrated, the Bishop said that Ochrida is at the south of Old Serbia, near the frontiers of Albania and Greece. In the old days it was of great importance. Justinian founded it in the sixth century, and called it Justiniana Prima, to distinguish it from Justiniana Secunda, which he afterwards founded in the plain of Kossovo. It played a great part in mediæval history, and was the seat of a Patriarchate during the

short-lived second Bulgar Empire King Stephan Dushan had great plans for its metropolitan when he was planning resistance to Islam. The name of that metropolitan was Nickolai, which, as the interviewer observed, was of good augury. Ochrida is on the border of the lake of that name, and is beautiful as a dream. St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the apostles of the Southern Slavs, made it their centre when, after having converted the Bohemians, they turned to the Serbs. There are still the nine monasteries which were founded in the tenth century dedicated to their nine disciples. Of all these parts remain, and the most important are still in use, that of St. Clement forming the cathedral and the Bishop's house. The old cathedral, St. Sophia, is still standing. The date of its foundation is not known, but it is very ancient. In the fourteenth century the Turks converted it into a mosque, and until 1912 it was the chief mosque of that region. In 1912 they were ready to hand it back, as in 1918 they were ready to hand back the Great Church, St. Sophia, in Constantinople. They expected the Orthodox to take it; it now awaits its full reconsecration. The country is settling down, and recovering rapidly from its five centuries of Turkish tyranny, and the horrors done to it in the Great War. The people who are not Slavs—that is, the Arnauts, Greeks, and Bulgars—are content, and are working with the Serbs. The great needs of the Serbian Church are, perhaps, outside their borders. They need the liberation of the Russian Church most of all, and next to that the liberation of Constantinople and the redemption of St. Sophia. The Œcumenical Patriarchate is the natural and necessary centre of Orthodoxy. The Patriarch must never again need a Turkish *berat*. He must be altogether free from political control. The Greeks are right in claiming that. When the Turks are gone from Constantinople, the Orthodox will be able to act as a unity. There can be no progress and lasting peace until justice is done and the people of Constantinople are allowed their liberty. Western Europe does not understand the crime it commits in keeping the Turk in the Mother City of Orthodoxy.

Asked, finally, about the cause of reunion, Bishop Nickolai said: "Talk about it. Pray for it. Discuss the terms among yourselves and with individuals among us. But don't be in a hurry, or you will postpone it for a hundred years. Your Archbishop's kindness and chivalry have done more to bring it nearer than anything else. But let the friendship and spiritual intimacies grow. When the time is ripe it will come."

NOTES ON RUSSIA

[*The following are extracts from the proletarian "catechism" and prayer-book, found in "The Red Army Man's Memorandum Book" of a private of the Kaluga Separate Battalion of the Extraordinary Commission*[1] *Special Corps.*]

"The God of the proletarian is Labour, and the elevation of his consciousness and wisdom is expressed thus :

"I. In the name of the Father—Socialism, and the Son—Communism, and the Holy Ghost—Marxism. Proletarians of all countries, unite.

"II. Our Father—Labour, which art on earth. Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done that capital should disappear from earth. Our daily bread give only to us who toil and leave our debts[2] to the parasites : 'who toils not, shall not eat.' And lead us not into temptation of compromise with capital, but deliver us from the evil tyranny of the usurer. For Thine is the kingdom and power and glory for ever in this world of destruction, of the exploitation of man by man. Amen.

"III. Virgin Mother of God—the Commune, rejoice Blessed Mother of Equality and Brotherhood, the Lord—Labour is with Thee : blessed art Thou among women of the proletariat, and blessed is the fruit of Thy womb—the International, for Thou hast born Socialism—the Saviour of the souls of the toilers.

"IV. Holy Trinity : Socialism, Communism, and Marxism, abolish the tyrants ; God—Labour, cleanse the sins of the capitalists ; Lord—Proletariat, forgive the iniquities of the tyrants, predators, and parasites, and tie them down to looms in the factories and to the plough on the soil ; Thou Holy, visit and cure their infirmities ! 'Who toils not, shall not eat,' for the sake of Thy name.

"V. Lord—Labour, save Thy people—the workers of the world, and bless Thine inheritance. Give victory over its enemies to the Proletarian Universal Soviet, and protect the community by Socialism.

"VI. Lord—Labour, save and protect my one Communistic family, my brothers, sisters, and relatives in the one world flesh, and all the kindred world races of brotherhood and equality founded on Thy labour principles without distinction of nationalities, and grant them Thy peace and truth.

"VII. Them, who have abjured Thy kingdom and are blinded by Church ravings and prayers, enlighten by the light of Thy knowledge, and through the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring them to the fold of the apostolic socialistic truth, and of the catholic world Communistic church of Thy kingdom."

A RELIGIOUS manifestation on a grand scale took place in Petrograd on Sunday, May 8, 1921, by far surpassing anything seen before the war. The clergy from all parishes assembled at the Alexander-Nevsky Monastery, whence the procession moved along the Nevsky Prospect to the Kazan Cathedral. It is estimated that over 150,000 people took part in it, while dense crowds thronged the streets. Commissars and Red Army men who did not take off their caps were forced to do so, and some were severely beaten. It is the first public demonstration which the Bolshevik authorities have not suppressed. The Soviet press devoted a good deal of attention to this event.

The *Krasnaia Gazeta* ("Red Gazette") of May 10 wrote in its leading article : "What took place in the streets of Petrograd on the Sunday of the 8th of May—that pompous march of hundreds of priests with censers and banners, can only be a resurrection of the dead. These corpses of the bourgeoisie and Tsarism exhibited

[1] Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, the "Tche-Ka."

[2] In Slavonic the words "Forgive us our trespasses" are expressed "Cancel our debts," the idea being that through our sins we are all debtors to God.

their skeleton to the public. Even the astonished man in the street was amazed to see that what should have long been dead was still alive. It was a demonstration of down-and-outs—now speculators in the garb of Soviet employés. Everyone came out into the street—shopkeepers and bankers, jewellers and merchants, prostitutes and late 'excellencies'—all the riff-raff of yesterday. They came out to show the accursed Bolsheviks that they were still alive, that they were ready for any fresh villainy. Those who think that this was a religious procession are mistaken. For besides popes and curiosity-mongers there was also the flaxy wishy-washy intelligentzia. This was done to spite the Bolsheviks. The popes sang: 'Lord, save Thy people.' They roused the masses. And this happened a week after the 1st of May, when red banners waved triumphantly over Petrograd. It only shows that Red Petrograd is still full of vermin, which must be done away with. The counter-revolution contaminates everything it comes in touch with. The bourgeoisie wishes to impress foreign countries. It is an attempt to defy the authorities by hooligan methods."

The *Petrograd Pravda* of May 10 demands the punishment of the "offenders."

THE SERBIAN CHURCH

By Bishop RUSTIČ

(*Continued*)

Chapter II.—Spread of Christianity amongst the Serbs—Foundation of the Serbian Archbishopric of "Justiniana Prima"

THE study of general Church history shows us that members of the Serbian race were included amongst the early Christians, since both the Apostles St. Paul and St. Thaddæus are said to have laboured in the Balkan peninsula. Later on, Greek missionaries preached the Gospel and baptized Serbs in the Balkans, and Roman missionaries did the same in Illyria, but their progress was very slow, for the Serbs understood neither Greek nor Latin. These new clergy, however, had no desire to learn the Serbian language, for in spreading Christianity in Serbian territory they aimed at nothing less than the complete suppression of Serbian nationality. Their attitude towards the people was consequently proud and unfriendly. This hindered the Serbs for a long time from embracing Christianity. Many indeed of those who had already become Christians returned to their old faith and resumed the worship of their national and pagan deities. Thus Christianity only spread by slow degrees, and the organization of the Church was equally slow amongst the newly converted people. As the East Roman Empire found its authority supported by the Serbian people, the Emperor, Justinian I., founded a separate Archbishopric for the Serbians in his native city, which lay in the centre of what was then Serbian territory (Taurida, between the present Prisrend and Djustendil) and called it "Justiniana Prima" (A.D. 535). The first Archbishop of the Serbs was a Greek, since the Serbs were so backward in education, and possessed no sufficiently cultured men for the post. The independence

of the newly founded Archbishopric was recognized by Pope Agapetus as early as A.D. 536, by the fifth General Council in 553, and by Pope Gregory the Great in 601. This Archbishopric existed till well into the ninth century. Further details as to its end and the exact date of its foundation lie hidden in the obscurity of the past. The Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima included in its jurisdiction those territories inhabited by Serbs which were mentioned by the Emperor Justinian in his letters of institution to the first Archbishop Kattalin. On the east the Archbishopric was founded by the river Isker, and on the south by the river Drin, as far as the Adriatic Sea. On the west lay the Adriatic Sea and the Rivers Trebischniza and Bosna. Here the boundary ran farther up beyond the Save in a straight line to the Drave. On the north the boundaries were formed by the Rivers Drave and Danube. Salonican Serbia was not included in Justinian's Archbishopric, but remained under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Salonica. In the same way, Dalmatia was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Spalato and the Bishop of Diodora (Zara), though later on it was transferred to the Metropolitan of Ragusa. The Archbishops of Ragusa and Spalato were immediately subject to the Pope, while the Bishop of Diodora was subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Serbs were continually oppressed by their neighbours in the Balkan peninsula. The Greeks endeavoured to make slaves of them and the Romans to latinize them. The Serbs set themselves to oppose this twofold oppression vigorously, and preferred rather to preserve their nationality than to accept the strange faith which came to them in so harsh a form. Many, therefore, remained faithful for a long time to their ancient paganism. In this desperate struggle with the Greeks, Michael, Prince of Salonican Serbia, specially distinguished himself. This prince took a deep interest in the religious affairs of his people. In order to root out the hatred which his people felt for Christianity, he became a monk himself, and was made later on Archbishop of Pannonia and Morava. Even while prince, he had compelled the Greek clergy to learn the Serbian language and to conduct the Church services in the national tongue. He himself translated many prayers from Greek into Serbian, and wrote them in the Glagolithic alphabet, which had been known for some time to the Western Serbs, as well as to those in Dalmatia. Nevertheless, Christian faith and doctrine were only generally accepted on the appearance of the two national apostles, Cyril and Methodius. By that time, too, education had become more widespread amongst the Serbs, and the ecclesiastical books were written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

(To be continued.)

THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH SINCE THE WAR

By the Rev. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D.

MOST English Churchmen who care at all for Eastern questions know something of the magnificently picturesque part played by the "Nestorian" highlanders during the Great War. The present writer, General Austin, and that gallant lady Surma Khanim (who herself took a worthy part in the struggle) have told something of the story, and we may refer inquirers to those works[1] for the story of the defence of their mountain homes; of the retreat of the clansmen to Persia, and their maintenance for three years of a Christian enclave amid Mussalman enemies; their recognition by the British as an ally; and, finally, of the dastardly murder of the Patriarch who had been their leader through the years of tribulation; and of the wonderful migration of the nation to Baghdad, where they flung themselves with a justified confidence on the charity of the British Government.

How they were received, and how a modern city of refuge sprang up to receive them on the banks of the Diala, has been told by that most able organizer and kindly English gentleman who was responsible for the work.[2] In this article we hope to continue the story of later developments of this strange national Odyssey, so far as they have gone at present. The writer of 1918 saw the nation under canvas near Baghdad, confident that its troubles were over at last, and that after a few weeks' delay they would commence a return to their old homes under the escort of British troops. In this, however, they were disappointed, and, like everyone and everything in Mesopotamia, have had to suffer from the fact that statesmen could not make up their minds what to do with what the soldiers had won.

The Turk had thrown down his arms and put himself into the hands of the Entente, prepared to accept any terms that they dictated, with thanks to Allah that they were no worse, and conscious in his own mind that, after what he had done, the worst that he could suffer would be less than he deserved.

It was only after years of delay, divided counsel in the Entente, and in the case of America, at least, an open taking of the hand from the plough and turning back, that the Turk began to pluck up heart again. Who can blame him if, seeing the manifest divisions of the Allies, and their confessed reluctance to do justice to Christendom from fear of Islam, he remembered his own proverb that expresses the

[1] "Our Smallest Ally." Wigram. (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.) "Assyrian Church Customs." Surma Khanim. (Faith Press. 3s. 6d.)

[2] "The Baqubah Camp." Brig.-General H. H. Austin, C.M.G. (Faith Press. 2s. 6d.)

dealings of Europe with Turkey in one pithy sentence: "Allah is merciful. Doubtless He will set the dog to worry the pig"? When will statesmen learn that with Easterns the first necessity is to know your own mind; and that, while the Mussalman appreciates the justice he is constitutionally and religiously incapable of rendering to others, he never will, and never ought to, respect a Government that is afraid of him?

In Mesopotamia, then, the delay in settling the Turkish problem has been at the root of all the troubles we have made for ourselves in a land which asked for nothing better than government by Englishmen; and these troubles have fallen heaviest, perhaps, on those Assyrian refugees who still ask vainly for an answer to their request: "Put us back if you can in our own land, and protect us there; if that is impossible, put us somewhere where we may live." No answer can be given to that reasonable request by men upon the spot till those in authority will tell them what is to be done with the land as a whole, and meantime the suppliants wait, and "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

Yet the time of waiting has not been all dreariness or loss. They have been maintained at the cost of the British Government, though perhaps the taxpayer does not realize that he has been feeding 25,000 helpless guests for thirty months because his Government could not determine what to do with them!

All through this time it has always been certain that after a short interval they would be sent home, therefore it was not worth while to employ them in any remunerative work, and they have been for the most part idle. Unfortunately, two years' life as a pauper at others' expense is apt to leave marks upon the character. There is one thing, however, that even those who like these hillmen least admit that they can do: they can fight. They have (it is part of the problem of settling them) an hereditary and most natural hatred for Islam in general and Kurds in particular; consequently, when a contingent was raised from among them to fight their hereditary enemies under British officers and with British rifles—well, it seemed as near heaven as these rather irregular, and perhaps heretical, Christians are ever likely to get.

Twice this joy was theirs in Mesopotamian campaigns since the armistice, and the verdict passed upon them was the same in each case: "A bit indiscriminate, but first-class fighting men." "How do the Assyrians fight?" asked a British officer of a Gurkha sergeant. "Why did you not give us the mountain sandals they made for themselves?" came the answer. "*Then we should have done as well as they did.*" Small fault, surely, to be found with the fighting quality of the Assyrian when "Johnny Gurkha" apologizes for not doing so well as he!

Once they stormed the stronghold of an ancient foe, built, like

many another Kurdish castle, by the labour of Christian serfs for the enslavement of Christians. Their vengeance on it was natural, if there was more of highlander than of Christian in the message that went to a friend: "Now you never would say that there had been a house there." But the trophy won there that they prized most was two enormous service-books of their own Church (the "Khudra" and the "Gezza," to give them their technical names, which form the enormously multiplied equivalent of the collects and occasional prayers of our services). They had been captured from some unknown church when their valleys were plundered in the war; now they came back at last to Christian hands again. The fighting men brought them in triumph to their British colonel, with one request: Might they carry this trophy as their mascot and standard through the campaign? Leave was given readily, and (testimony to the size of the books) a mule detailed from the baggage train for the purpose, and the two volumes made a load for him! So for the rest of that hill expedition the service-books marched at the head of the column, and a volunteer guard of honour stood sentry over them every night!

They could be rough at times, and hard to hold, having, in truth, grim and recent memories in their minds. Let Belgians who have seen their country ravaged condemn them, for no Englishman has the right. Once during the Arab rising a British officer threw doubt on the losses they claimed to have inflicted on the enemy. "Rubbish! You never hit as many as that!" said he. They said nothing at the time, but after the next action sought out that officer again, and spread before him a grim collection of severed human ears! "You can't say we didn't hit those fellows, sahib!"

Fighting ended, the contingents were disbanded, and that wave of restlessness that has passed over all the world affected a people whose bane has ever been the tendency to quarrel among themselves. The natural leader of the nation, the Patriarch who had kept them together in the war, had given his life for the nation before it ended, and his successor had died of a disease contracted during it.

The best head in the nation, Surma Khanim, sister and counsellor of the Patriarch, was away in England pleading the cause of her people, and idle, leaderless folk tend to intrigue. The British authorities, too, were most naturally eager to settle the nation anywhere where it could be settled, and be rid of an administrative burden. It was an opportunity for any man who could make himself leader, and one was found to make the attempt. A certain Petros Agha, a man whose career had been more adventurous than respectable, but who had certainly shown himself a capable leader in the later stages of the war, came forward with a new plan. One party in the nation yearned for its old home in Persia, another equally naturally

for the mountains of Kurdistan. Petros suggested to the Government that they should be settled under his leadership in a vacant space between the two. To the people he seems to have promised that every little sept that followed him should have all that they desired, and the British authorities, desirous to be rid of a nuisance, and fascinated by the extreme plausibility of the adventurer, accepted his scheme, and urged all to accept him as temporal leader (August, 1920).

The bulk of the nation did so accept him, and were marched off to a temporary camp that was to be their starting-place on the march to their new home. Only a minority remained in their original camp near Baghdad, and this minority, regarding themselves as the faithful remnant who were loyal to their old patriarchal house, and feeling that ill had come on the nation because it lacked a leader, proceeded to elect and consecrate a new Patriarch. They chose, according to custom, the nephew of the late prelate, and consecrated him, in spite of the fact that their nominee was a child of twelve years! (September, 1920.)

The step was disastrous, not that there lacked precedent for hereditary boy patriarchs in the Church, for it had been the custom among them for three hundred years. Still, even conservative reformers felt that it was time such an anomaly should cease, and in this case there were other faults to find with the action.

By old custom the hereditary candidate for the episcopal headship of the nation must needs be accepted by the nation as a whole, and this acceptance compensated—in the eyes of these wild highlanders—for the scandalously uncanonical character of the whole proceeding in every other respect. In this case, however, the election had been the work of a minority, who felt rightly aggrieved, and which comprised just the very elements that had most to gain by continuing that hereditary system the reformers wished to drop. The late Patriarch was paternal uncle to the child now consecrated, and the consecrating prelate who put the matter through was also his uncle—on the mother's side.

The aggrieved minority had, in fact, given the majority a very satisfactory grievance, which is always a valuable possession, and there was a division in the people over the matter.

Meantime, preparations for the departure of the fighting force of the nation were pushed on. They were to occupy a district on the frontiers of Turkey and Persia, known officially as the Gawar-Ushnu area; but plans were indefinite in the extreme, and it was generally understood that they might take the city of Urmi if they could. "Let them go out into the blue and take all they can hold; but in any case let them go," was the attitude of British authority.

Petros Agha was to be leader. The force was composed partly of

"plainsmen" from Urmi, but partly of mountaineers from Hakkiari, who would undoubtedly have to do all the serious fighting. Some mountain guns accompanied them, and it is an odd fact that the artillerymen were Turks captured at Urmi during the Great War, who had taken service with their captors as indifferently as any old soldier of fortune! This force was to occupy what territory it chose, and the women and children were to follow as soon as practicable.

In itself the scheme was not impossible. Four thousand well-armed Assyrians, if they held together, could go anywhere and do anything in Kurdistan *at the right time of year*. As things were, however, the time of year was all wrong, and the force would not hold together; each of its sections had its own idea of what it wanted, and cared as little for the other as the Highlanders of Montrose's army cared for their Lowland comrades. Petros had made at least very indefinite promises to each section in order to win them to follow him.

In addition, November had begun, and to campaign in winter in the highest and most rugged mountains of Kurdistan is impossible. Of course it had been intended to launch the scheme earlier, but the Arab rising had caused delay through the summer. Now the fact that British authority was anxious to be rid of the burden of keeping the nation through another winter seems to have been the cause why this obstacle was disregarded.

In details, too, all showed a most casual and happy-go-lucky spirit. An Assyrian has an engaging power of disregarding all difficulties in a plan that appeals to him; and Petros, though a brave man and with a knack of handling men in action, is not a trained soldier. He does not seem to have grasped the hard military fact that if four men can get through a country, it does not follow that you can lead four thousand there. Thus the British Government had provided medical stores and provisions in abundance, but the force went off with only seven days' food and not so much as a bandage. The two British officers who accompanied Petros "in a purely advisory capacity" pointed out this omission. Petros, hardly distinguishing between a campaign and a cattle raid, replied that his people were accustomed to go to war in that fashion! The scheme was thus launched under conditions that made success impossible from the beginning, and bad luck dogged it throughout.

Winter set in early, with constant sleet and snow, so that the mule transport speedily broke down, and the plainsmen of the force, unused to such conditions of travel, fell ill by scores.[1] In spite of this some

[1] A young mountaineer once expounded the episode in the Acts, "John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem," as follows: "Mar Markus was of those who live in plains, Rabbi. Of course, *he* could not travel among the mountains."

advance was made into the higher hills, and two sharp actions fought and won in the course of seven days.[1] Presently, however, news came in that made any further advance hopeless. The mountaineer wing of the force had left their comrades, and gone off westward by themselves in the general direction of their own country. By what was at least a grave error of judgment Petros had posted them on the left wing, precisely where such an act would be most easy.

The proceeding might have been foreseen. Did Petros, who at least knows his own people, ever foresee it? The mountaineer of the Assyrian stock cares very little for the plainsman, and was by no means inclined to conquer the fat plains of Urmi for him on a promise that he might settle thereafter on the rightful owner's leavings. His own gorges beckoned him, and in the meantime he had a good English rifle in his hands, well-filled cartridge belts around him, and the chance for once of getting his revenge in full on all accursed Kurds. Who could expect one who had been cateran for ten generations to look beyond such a prospect as that?

The Urmi people, abandoned by the only good fighting element among them, could do nothing but withdraw. Mules perished by the hundred, and all baggage was abandoned; men even left their rifles by the roadside[2] as useless lumber as they crawled back under the whip of constant sleet to the kindly plains. About one hundred men perished of fatigue and exposure; in fact, the whole expedition was a doleful failure, and the loss of life much less than might have been expected.

The mountaineers meanwhile continued their wild career, plundering right and left through a wide belt of Kurdish country. The utter perversity of things pursued them here also, for when they killed they always killed the wrong men. There are quite a fair number of known bad characters in Kurdistan, whom the British Government could see extinguished without a pang. None of them were touched, but the villages of tribes who had always been obedient and well-behaved were turned inside out. They even fell foul of Turkish authority (for the unquiet ghost of Ottoman administration still haunts those hills) in that they captured a Government mudir. They explained with grim humour that "His Excellency was not wearing uniform when we saw

[1] Certain Kurdish villages were plundered, and the reckless, unprovisioned mountaineers burned the corn stores, which is a gross breach of the courtesies of local war. Among the loot captured in this corner of wild Kurdistan was an English "Book of Common Prayer," bearing the stamp, "St. Paul's, North Battleford. Not to be taken away." It was given to a British officer, who wishes to send it back to the church if he can find the parish.

[2] This naturally excited the wrath of the British officers, whose comment was: "A Tiari man may be as big a thief as Heaven ever made, but at least he will leave his head before he leaves his rifle."

him"—that he certainly was not, for the Tiari men stripped him of every rag that he had on!

Finally, their progress was stopped by a British political officer, the A.P.O. of Dohuk. Gathering a few police, he met them on the road, rated them heartily for the disorderly rascals that they certainly were, took their plunder from them, disarmed them, and sent them down to the camp again. It shows the prestige of the right sort of Englishman among these people, that these wild hillmen should thus have obeyed an order that the giver of it had certainly no power to enforce!

They had ruined the scheme of settlement, once for all, had wasted much property, and had set every Kurd in Kurdistan in a state of natural fury, at the very moment that the Baghdad Government (with an Arab revolt still on its hands) most wished that turbulent district to be quiet! Meantime Petros, abandoned by both wings of his army, had also returned to the plain, observing that the expedition had failed, certainly, but that he had no doubt that the moral effect among the Kurds would be good!

There was of course great wrath in all Government circles, and talk for a moment of indiscriminate punishment for all concerned. It was felt, however, that those who had sanctioned a rather wild experiment, and sent Assyrians out uncontrolled to capture an enclave for themselves, must not be too hard on men who had only acted after their kind. Some luckless scapegoats who appeared specially guilty were confined, and the whole nation was, so to say, put in the corner in disgrace. The Government then addressed itself to the problem of what to do next for the settlement of a nationality that seemed to have settled on their shoulders like the old man of the sea.

At the date of writing, it cannot be said that this problem is solved at all. Various schemes have been proposed, and the definite withdrawal of the British forces from Persia has at least made it clear that it will not be possible to settle the men of Urmi in their land. There is, in fact, far more bad blood between the Urmi section of this people and their Persian neighbours than between the mountaineers and the Kurds.

A successful rebellion of serfs (for that is how the Persians look at the matter) leaves far more sting than even the most violent outbreak of feud between clans who have fought and made friends alternately for centuries: thus nothing but a British occupation—which is not possible—would make Urmi a possible dwelling-place for Assyrians now.

To recognize that part of a problem is impossible sometimes opens a way for the solution of the remainder of it; and in this case all depends on a clear declaration of what the British Government intend to do in this land and with the Ottoman Empire.

It is to be hoped that before these words appear in print the high

gods in Europe may have decided on some definite line of action in the Middle East, which will enable smaller questions to be settled, and incidentally may give a chance of life and development to this long-tormented people.—MOSUL, *April*, 1921.

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF INDIA

(*Continued from p.* 39.)

AFTER a time the rule of the Jesuits became so intolerable to the Roman Syrians that they resolved to have a bishop from the East, and applied to Babylon, Antioch, and Alexandria. One who was readily sent from Antioch was intercepted by the Portuguese and was condemned to the flames of the inquisition at Goa in 1653. This so infuriated the Syrians that they met in solemn conclave in their thousands at Coonen Cross in Malabar and renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome. The Syrian Church from this time split definitely into two large sections, one still clinging to the Church of Rome and the other repudiating the Roman domination. These joined forces with those that remained faithful to the traditions of the Syrian Church, and together developed into what is known as the Jacobite Syrians of to-day.

Since the Coonen Cross incident the Jacobites are governed by their own dignitaries, consecrated by the bishop delegates of the Patriarch of Antioch, and they adhere to the tenets introduced in 1665 by Mar Gregory, a Jacobite bishop. They use the liturgy, mainly in Syriac, of St. James, and their chief articles of belief are: (1) "They look upon the Holy Bible as the main authority in doctrine, practice, and ritual, but do not allow it to be interpreted except with the help of the tradition of the Church, the writings of the Early Fathers, and the decrees of the Holy Synods." (2) The Jacobites believe in the efficacy and necessity of prayers and charities for the benefit of the departed souls; they invoke the Virgin Mary and the saints in divine worship; they confess sins to, and obtain absolution from, priests. (3) They administer the Lord's Supper to the laity in the form of consecrated bread dipped in consecrated wine, and regard it a sin to provide the elements separately after having united them in token of Christ's resurrection. (4) They allow marriage ceremony on Sundays on the ground that, being of the nature of a Sacrament, it ought to be celebrated on that day, and that Christ Himself had taken part in a marriage festival on the Sabbath. (5) The Jacobites venerate the Cross and the relics of the saints. (6) They perform mass for the dead. (7) Re-marriage, marriage of widows, and marriage after admission to full priesthood are denied to the Jacobite clergy. (8) The

Jacobites believe in the efficacy of infant baptism, and acknowledge baptismal regeneration.

The Jacobites, who to-day constitute a large portion of the Syrians, are a very progressive body, and some of the best men of the Syrian community come from them.

The Syrian Church was fated to see yet another serious split, and, as it was due partly to British missionary inspiration, I must use a line or two to mention that Dr. Buchanan, a Church of England missionary, visited Mar Dionysius, the Jacobite Bishop, in 1809, and broached the subject of a union of the Syrian Church with the Church of England. The proposal was seriously entertained by the Syrians for some time, but did not find popular favour with them.

The Syrians now delegated a young man who had had a short course of English education at Madras, and possessed a deal of courage and energy, to proceed to Antioch and get ordained as a bishop. In spite of the intense transit difficulties of the time he accomplished his purpose, and returned in 1843. Mar Dionysius, who perceived a formidable rival in the new Bishop, Mar Mathew Athanasius, resisted him and applied to Antioch for help, accusing Mar Mathew of Protestant leanings. The Patriarch despatched a messenger to expel Mar Mathew. He arrived, and in course of time assumed the title of Bishop himself, with the connivance of Mar Dionysius. This was resisted bitterly by Mar Mathew, and the credentials of Cyril, the messenger from Antioch, were examined and proved to be false. Mathew Athanasius was consequently installed in his office in 1862, and Cyril fled the country. The Patriarch sent still another messenger called Ste-phanoes, but the Government interfered that Athanasius should be left alone. Upon this the faction of Mar Dionysius sent a young man named Joseph to Antioch for ordination, and he, returning duly in 1866, assumed the title of Dionysius V., claimed the office of Metropolitan, and applied to the Travancore Government for assistance. The Durbar referred him to the law-court, and then followed a series of lawsuits in which each party displayed zeal, subtlety, legal acumen, and hatred for one another.

In 1874 the Patriarch himself arrived in Malabar, and a synod was held. The synod supported the connection with Antioch, recognized formally Mar Dionysius as the accredited Metropolitan of Malabar, and condemned Mar Mathew as a schismatic. The great lawsuits, which commenced in 1879, ended in 1889 in favour of Mar Dionysius, the two Hindu Judges deciding in his favour and the one English Judge in favour of Mar Mathew. The followers of Mar Mathew, who did not live to see the grim end of the tragedy, lost almost all the churches along with the landed properties attached to these. The followers of Mar Mathew are to-day known as the Mar Thoma Syrians, or Reformed Syrians.

The Mar Thoma Syrians maintain that the Jacobite creed was introduced into Malabar only in the seventeenth century. They uphold the ecclesiastical autonomy of the Church, and claim that the Metropolitan of Malabar is the supreme head of the Church. They further hold that the consecration of a bishop by or with the sanction of the Patriarch gives no more sanctity than that by Metropolitan, inasmuch as the Church is as ancient and apostolic as any other. This is in opposition to what the Jacobites hold, that the consecration of a bishop is not valid unless it be done with the sanction of the Patriarch.

The doctrines and beliefs of the Mar Thoma Syrians are also much different from those of the Jacobites. They hold that the Bible is unique, and are not bound down by the traditions of the Church or the writings of the Early Fathers or the decrees of the Holy Synods in interpreting it. The Reformed Syrians do not pray for the benefit of the dead, do not invoke the Virgin Mary or the saints in divine worship. They do not confess sins to and obtain absolution from the priests. They admit the laity to both the elements of the Lord's Supper after the act of uniting them. The Mar Thoma Syrians do not hold marriage festivities on Sundays, and set the day apart for rest and religious exercises. They observe the Mass only as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. They regard the practice of venerating the Cross and the relics of the saints as idolatry. They do not perform mass for the dead. They allow the clergy to re-marry and restrict the liberty of marriage in the case of the bishops. They baptize infants, but deny the doctrine of regeneration thereby, and regard the ceremony as a mere external sign of admission to Church communion.

A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

SINCE last we wrote, three anniversaries of first interest to our movement have been kept. It was on March 25, 1821, a day never to be forgotten in the Calendar of Liberty, that the men of the Peloponnese, led by their Bishop Germanos, gathered in the monastery of Patras to raise the standard of the Cross in revolt against Islam. To know how hopeless seemed their courage, it is needful only to read the books of contemporary, unsympathetic travellers such as Leake. For three and a half centuries the country had been ground under a calculated, ignorant, and brutal tyranny. It was part "charnel-house," part desert. That its people had not perished remains a scarcely credible marvel. That they could remember their past or dream of a future can be understood only by the knowledge that it was their religion which saved their soul. But they had counted the cost. When they wrote "Death or Liberty" on their banners, they used no idle words. They had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. There could be no looking back. The Turk was determined that the seemingly dead nation which struggled to return to life should be

stamped out for ever in a wholesale massacre. Europe shut its eyes, shrugged its shoulders, and waited the event. The Greeks themselves were ready to die and to end it. But they were willing to live no longer in unspeakable helotage. And so the impossible was accomplished. Colocotronis won his hardly hoped victory at Valtetzi on May 24, 1821, and that liberation of the Greek nation and the Greek lands which is still incomplete was begun.

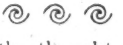
The Turks' answer was very swift. The Christian had been allowed to exist only on condition that he held himself as his master's slave. He had claimed liberty. The punishment of that effrontery was extermination. Therefore, on Easter Day, April 22, 1821, he hanged eighty-year-old Gregory, the Œcumenical Patriarch, outside the Church of the Phanar, and began to massacre the Greeks in his power. On June 16, 1821, for example, he wiped out the whole Christian population of Aivali—the scene two years ago of one of the most horrible deeds of Mustapha Kemal's butchers—and on August 14, 1822, slaughtered 23,000 Greeks in the Isle of Chios out of hand. The survivors he sold as slaves, a boy or a girl fetching a few piastres a head, in his market-places to the number of 47,000. It is to be noted, indeed, that while 1821 marks the beginning of Modern Greece, it marks also the beginning of the Turks' policy of extirpation. If bit by bit in these hundred years much of the Greek lands has been redeemed, the Greek nation has paid a heavy price in blood, not of its heroes shed on the battle-field, but of its unarmed and helpless children murdered under the Turkish flag. The two dates, March 25, 1821, and April 22, 1821, are epochal and inseparable.

Thirdly, it was on May 29, 1453, that Mahommed II., the "Conqueror," sacked and appropriated Constantinople, the Queen City of Christendom, and seized St. Sophia, the Mother Church of the Greek nation and of Eastern Orthodoxy. Two years ago nothing seemed more reasonable than to expect that the centenary of March 25, 1821, would have been celebrated by a free Constantinople in a reconsecrated St. Sophia, or that the centenary of April 22, 1821, would have been celebrated by the Greek and Armenian nations with rejoicings at the fact that none of their people could ever again be in danger of Turkish oppression, outrage, and murder. As it is, the two long chapters remain unclosed, and it is in their second century that they must receive their colophon.

History is repeating itself indeed. The jealousies and indecisions of the "Great Powers" of a hundred years ago played into the hands of the Turk. It needed the siege of Missolonghi and the battle of Navarino to bring Europe to acknowledge half the *fait accompli*, and on July 3, 1830, to recognize the independence of the peninsula of Greece. The rest of the Greek world was thrown back under the heel of the Turk with paper guarantees, the worthlessness of which has been attested enough in blood-red letters. So,

also, since 1918, when once again a clean cut became possible, the Powers have allowed back-stairs intrigues to delay justice and inevitability. Despite the protests and pleadings of the large majority of the people of Constantinople, the Turkish flag still flies on the Golden Horn, and St. Sophia is still a mosque. Despite the pledges and proclamations of the statesmen of the Entente, Mustapha Kemal in Asia Minor goes on merrily Turkifying the Greek and Armenian homelands by exterminating their native Christian people. The Allied navies allow him to receive his munitions and certain Allied Mercantile Marines to supply his needs. The ruins of the Church of Nicea are still smoking, and the bodies of his victims are still polluting the air, to show that he is unhindered by Europe's benevolent neutrality.

History shows clearly that if the Near East remained last century the breeding-place of restlessness and produced the monstrous birth of the Great War, it was because in its insane mutual jealousy divided Europe preferred to buttress up the Turk rather than to risk a free Greece. It is the same again. At the almost certain price of ceaseless misery and disturbance, and at long last of another war, the Turkish power is being reconstituted—over a limited area, it is true, but over an area which is not Turkish, and in which the Christian population, to say nothing of freedom, can never know safety and security. Neither the Greek nor the Armenian can ever stifle their conscience and leave their native country unredeemed.



Putting all this on one side, the thought of what the Near East would be if Constantinople became the capital of a united and progressive Greece and the Armenians were given the chance to make their country that which, once free and unmolested, they would assuredly make it in a decade, it seems incredible, for another and more selfish reason, that Great Britain should be inveigled into playing the part of Dilly and Dally. It is by no accident that Mustapha Kemal and Lenin find themselves in partnership. However great the antithesis between Islam and Bolshevism, they have this in common: Both hate Christianity as their chief enemy, and must wipe it out of the lands over which they exercise a minority's tyranny or perish. Bishop Velimirovič tells our readers elsewhere in this issue of THE CHRISTIAN EAST that it is the Orthodox Church alone which is fighting the German-Jew in Russia. Mustapha Kemal has no doubt but that, to make Asia Minor all Turkish, he must annihilate that Church and the Armenian. Let there be no mistake in the matter. From the day that Turkey entered the Great War, the mask has been down. Talaat, Enver and Company may, as is said, have been atheistical, cynical brigands, but, at all events, they exploited the ambition of Turkish Islam. Religious persecution was their admitted instrument in their policy, and that power had an admitted religious end. It is so that now Kemal openly declares that the war of Islam against Christendom has been resumed. The Dar-es-Salaam will at last annihilate the Dar-el-Harb. The Christian Powers, he tells his merry men, are tearing each other to pieces. The defeat of Greece will be the defeat of Great

Britain and the beginning of the end of Christianity. Soon the resurgent Green Flag will recover all its losses and press on beyond the limit where Sobieski checked it. That is the slogan to which the mosques of Angora resound, and that is why the tough old official lovers of the Turk, who have lived their lives in Constantinople and talk of the Greeks as Levantines, begin to say that if the Sultan is left with the Young Turk in possession of the place their lives will not be safe.

Why is it all happening? Two years back Asia Minor was obedient to the Entente. Its control was a simple thing. The Turk was resigned to the inevitable, to the liberation of Constantinople, and to the redemption of St. Sophia. The Sultan was ready to go to Iconium. Mustapha Kemal was nothing. The explanation is not to be found in the Indian menace. If anyone's flesh ever crept at that ridiculous bogey, it is patent enough now that the costly agitation which the pro-Turk engineered at the right moment was farcical. The surviving few *muhadjirs* have fled back from Afghanistan, sadder and wiser men. We must search nearer home for the sinister force which stultifies the conscience of Europe and leaves Great Britain to be dragged helpless at the tail of the Quai d'Orsay and the Quirinal. The fall of Mr. Venizelos has been used by French Chauvinists to stampede French policy. Italy has imperialistic ambitions in the Near East. And, working inexorably and without deviation, now as in the past, the Vatican is following the secular policy which makes its first aim, if not the extinction, at least the paralysis of the Eastern-Orthodox Church.

In writing the above we are actuated by no ill-will towards the Papacy as a spiritual power. Whatever may be our view as to its claims, we recognize in the Roman Catholic Church a great Communion towards which we are drawn by strong attractions. It is our prayer that the Papacy may speedily become the first See of an united Christendom. We acclaim the fact that much good comes out of the Vatican. Our "*J'accuse*" is directed solely against the temporal diplomacy which delivered its monstrous *démarche* at Paris against the redemption of St. Sophia, which protested at the landing of Greek troops in Bithynia, and which raises no voice to demand the lives of the Christian remnant in Asia Minor. We may also add here that we have not the slightest interest in politics. If we speak our mind plainly on the Greek question it is because, and only because, the very existence of our Eastern brethren is in jeopardy. If to desire the limitation of Turkish power to the Turkish part of Asia Minor be meddling in politics, then we are bound to meddle in them. To our mind, however, the matter is as much one of religious duty as the bringing a fire-escape to a man in a burning house. It is a poor phil-Orthodoxy which cultivates an entente with the Eastern Orthodox, but stands silent and tongue-tied while they are butchered and oppressed simply for their faith.

It may interest some of our London readers who wish to familiarize themselves with the Greek rite that the Liturgy begins every Sunday in St. Sophia, Moscow Road, at 11 a.m., and is preceded by Orthros at 10.15, Esperinos being sung at 5.30. The Liturgy will also be sung on the Transfiguration, the Assumption, the Nativity of our Lady, and the elevation of the Cross on *our* August 19, 28, and September 21, 27, at 10.30. Similar arrangements prevail for the Russians at St. Mary-le-Bow.

As all the world ought to know, the Indiction, or New Year, begins for the Eastern Orthodox on September 1, because it marks the garnering of the crops. September 14 is the anniversary of the foundation of the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem in 330, and finds an important place in the Eastern Calendar. The Greek Menæon tells us that the day after Helena found the True Cross, it was elevated with great honour. Part of it was sent to Constantinople. The rest remained in Jerusalem until A.D. 614, when the Persians captured and took it to their country. Heraclius recovered it in 628 and took it to Constantinople, where it was received with great dignity. The chest in which it was kept in St. Sophia was an object of great devotion. It was displayed for a fortnight after September 15 each year, and a portion of it will, we trust, in future years be displayed again in the same famous building on the same feast.

It is not our business here to have any opinions, except as far as they affect our cause, upon matters that concern Anglican relations with other Communions. We cannot help asking, however, how it can be right for the Anglican Cathedral in Jerusalem to have been lent, as, unless we are misinformed, it was recently lent, to a non-Anglican body which engages in proselytizing the Eastern Orthodox? It may be possible, indeed, that the authorities took advantage of the opportunity to urge on their guests the very grievous offence against Christian charity which they perpetuate in their attitude to the Eastern Orthodox. In face of repeated Anglican pronouncements against proselytization, they should have done so. A man is known by his friends.

Archbishop Barsawm of Antioch writes of the Western Syrians: "J'espère que tous nos amis et connaissances fassent le mieux pour notre cause et nous délivrer des turcs. Les mouvements des bandes nationalistes, la neige abondante ont rendu la situation des plus délicates."

The opportunity of witnessing an Eastern Orthodox ordination in England is necessarily rare. It was, therefore, a privilege to be present when, after fifty years' service as a Reader, the Deacon Constantine Vasilović was ordained on June 3 by Bishop Velimirović in the Russian Church at Welbeck Street. The rite, which is merged in the Liturgy, is impressive, and did not suffer by being rendered in a small building. For the sake of any readers

who do not know, we may say that the Bishop stands on a small carpet on which an eagle is woven, that the fitness of the candidate is proclaimed by cries of Ἄξιος, and that the laying-on of hands takes place in the Diakonikion.

The appointment of one of our editors, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, to St. Magnus, in the City of London, was a matter of profound satisfaction to all who are interested in the Eastern Churches. Apart from the proper and well-deserved recognition of his past services and the fine work both as a parish priest and as secretary first of the A. and E.C.A., and then of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee, we rejoice at his going to St. Magnus, because he will certainly make that very beautiful church a centre of intercession for the reunion and for the welfare of the Eastern Churches. Unless we are mistaken, the day of his receiving his call, which by the *sortes* was St. Magnus Day, will prove to have been noteworthy in the history of our movement.

We venture to congratulate the Diocese of British Guiana on its election of the Rev. O. H. Parry as its future Bishop. His labours among the Syrians and his knowledge of the "Separated Eastern Churches" are known to everyone. He is, of course, a valued member of the Archbishop's Eastern Committee. God bless him in his diocese, and further his work.

As we go to press, we receive the first volume of Professor Comnenos' Συμβολαί (contributions) towards reunion. In it our friend investigates Anglican orders, and gives his conclusions as (1) that they bear scrutiny on the ground of rite, intention, and succession no less than Roman orders; (2) advocating their acceptance; (3) that all our sacraments should be recognized; (4) that economic emergency intercommunion should at once be established, with the mutual emergency admission to all sacraments. For the last he quotes medieval precedent. His monograph is, of course, of first importance. Laus Deo!

UNION WITH THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox, especially in Regard to Anglican Orders. By the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D., Vicar of St. Luke, Camberwell. (London: Faith Press, 1921.)

Terms of Intercommunion suggested by the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with her and the Eastern Orthodox Church. (London: S.P.C.K., 1921.)

WHAT are the steps to be taken with regard to reunion with the Eastern Church? On what basis is it possible? These subjects are discussed by Mr. Douglas in the work that lies before us. He has presented his views very fully also in a criticism of my Bampton

Lectures, which he published in THE CHRISTIAN EAST. A policy is sketched from a different point of view in the "Terms of Intercommunion" which have been drawn up at the request of the Eastern Churches Committee.

I must express my thanks to Mr. Douglas for the kind way in which he has expressed his dissent from some suggestions that I have made, and for allowing me the opportunity of criticizing his book.

The main contention is this: If you study theologians of the Orthodox Church, it will become apparent that they have a clear and definite basis of doctrine; that that represents, or is believed to represent, the teaching of the Undivided Church; that however friendly and courteous they may be, no reunion in any way is possible with them except on that basis; and that therefore to suggest anything else would be not only useless, but harmful. The attitude that they adopt is this: "We are right, and the rest of the world is wrong. If they will express their agreement with us, we shall be very glad to come to terms; if they do not, we can have nothing to do with them." Now that is a very natural basis; it is the basis which is adopted by most religious bodies, and it is obvious that it is one which would make reunion impossible. It is because that has become apparent to some persons that an attempt has been made to put things on a different footing. It is clear that if we all are quite determined to think and say that we are right, and no one else is right, then we must all stay as we are. So long as the Roman Catholics state that they will have no dealings with anyone who does not make his submission to the Church, so long corporate reunion will be impossible. So long as the Anglican Church says that it will not recognize in any way or in any form any non-Episcopal Orders, reunion with the non-Episcopal Churches is impossible. So long as the Free Churches say, "We will have nothing to do with Episcopacy in any form," reunion is impossible. So long as the Eastern Churches say: "We are the Church, and no one else can belong to the Church unless he is in union with us; we are orthodox, and no one else has any claim to be heard," reunion is impossible. And therefore, if Mr. Douglas's contention is sound, it really does not matter what we say or do.

It is with that consideration in one's mind that I ventured to put forward another way of approaching the subject in my Bampton Lectures. I suggested that we should recognize that all division is wrong, that no Church could make any claim to be infallible or absolutely right, that we should explore the field of Christian thought and action to try and find a more fundamental basis on which we could unite, and to the best of my ability I made some suggestions. Those suggestions in relation to the Eastern Church are worked out in the Terms of Intercommunion to which we have referred. The same point of view, not exactly on the same lines, was adopted by the Lam-

beth Conference, which boldly came forward and said: "Let us approach one another, not in an attitude of self-assertion, but in an attitude of penance, and let us see from that point of view whether we cannot make any progress." That is the striking characteristic of the attitude of the Lambeth Conference.

Let us now examine Mr. Douglas's statement of the claims of the Eastern Church. The characteristics of the Eastern Church are, he tells us, these: It has a definite faith on which it is united and on which it looks as essential.

"His case is neither more nor less than that the Faith, as he holds it, is the Faith of the earliest ages. For him the vital necessity of Episcopacy to the existence of the Church, the sacerdotal powers and office of the Priesthood, the Real Presence, the propitiatory character of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Invocation of Saints, the Seven Sacraments, the supremacy of the Œcumenical Councils as infallible organs of the Christian Society, and so forth, are as much fundamental to the Faith of Chalcedon as the dogmatic statements of the Creed, of which that Council made the affirmation the duty of every Christian.

"You cannot," the Eastern Orthodox tells us, "pick and choose what you will believe. The Church is the organism of Faith and Love. The Œcumenical Faith is its great unifying tradition, a deposit committed to the saints once and for all by Christ Himself, and safeguarded by the infallible working of the Holy Spirit in the whole body of the Church. It is to be accepted, not because of its logical warranty, but because not to hold it in its entirety is to break the unity of the Christian Brotherhood."[1]

It is in relation to this that its attitude towards the Church of England and Anglican Orders rests. It is quite right to put aside all the objections which are made by the Roman Church, it says. "Its uninterrupted succession from and its connection with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, thanks to the latest historical investigations, must be acknowledged to be undoubted." So far quite satisfactory, but if we are to have our Orders recognized we must be prepared to state quite clearly what our teaching upon the Sacraments and Orders is.

So Professor Bulgakoff writes:

"If the teaching of the present Anglican Episcopate upon the Sacrament of Orders turns out to agree with the teaching of the ancient universal Church, this will be a clear proof that Anglicanism has not merely preserved the Apostolic Succession in an outward manner, but that it has not changed the essential nature of that ministry, which is indispensable for the Church according to the mind of her Divine Founder and Head. Only then will it be possible to decide the question as to what order of error the errors of the Anglican Church are to be referred; this is to say, whether the gift of the grace of the priesthood has been extinguished within her, or whether this

[1] P. 24.

Church still has within her a glimmering of the light of grace, sufficient to enable her Orders to be acknowledged as valid."[1]

As Professor Androutsos writes:

"And generally it asks these questions of the High Church party:

"1. *As regards the Sacraments.* Does it receive the Seven Sacraments?

"2. *As regards Confession.* Does it take Confession as a necessary condition for the remission of sins; and the priestly absolving of sins as included in the authority given to it by the Lord?

"3. *As regards the Eucharist.* How does it accept the Real Presence of the Lord? And what is the character of the Unbloody Sacrifice?

"4. *As regards the Œcumenical Councils.* Will it receive these Councils as infallible organs of the true Church, the declarations of which bind *eo ipso* every particular Church, and accept them always as the true faith?"[2]

Now, putting those statements together, it is obvious that if we accept the divines quoted, they have not a glimmering of idea of how a Church ought to behave if it desires reunion. To me it seems absolutely impertinent to speak of the Church of England and ask whether this Church still has within her a glimmering of the light of grace. Certainly all the profuse arguments which Mr. Douglas indulges in to show that a section of the Church of England can answer satisfactorily the questions that I have quoted are quite useless and beside the point. The Church of England is never going to say that it looks upon Councils as infallible; it knows that there is no infallibility in this world, and that to say that simply means that these theologians of the Eastern Church are living in an atmosphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth and not of the twentieth century. And the same conclusion will be arrived at when we turn to what Mr. Douglas tells us is their belief on the doctrine of the Church.

The Eastern Orthodox, therefore, are bound to maintain that the Faith as they hold it in their Tradition is identically the same, without alteration, addition, or diminution, as the Faith of the Apostles and the Fathers.

Now that, stated, as it is done, on their behalf, is a proposition which would show them destitute of the intelligence which is necessary for proper theological discussion. In a sense it is true that the Christianity which we all believe is a not wholly imperfect representation of the teaching of Christ, but to maintain that the doctrine of the Eastern Church, as it is put forth in the present day, contains no addition to the faith of the Apostles, simply shows that they are ignorant of history, and that it is really not worth while to discuss things with them. But, further than that, Mr. Douglas tells us that this Eastern Church is so sensitive in its character that if these reasonably and carefully considered proposals made with regard to

[1] Quoted pp. 64, 65. [2] Quoted p. 14.

intercommunion are put before them with any approach to authority, all negotiations and intercourse will come to an end. Not only do they hold what they say is true, and no one else at all has any idea of the truth, but also they say that they are not prepared to discuss matters with people who suggest anything else as a possible basis of reunion. Well, if what Mr. Douglas says is true, it certainly seems to me that it is better that we should put forward these views and make an end of it. It is no good spending our time in writing friendly letters, and in entertaining and so on all these Eastern prelates, if their attitude is as immobile and their minds are as stagnant as he tells us that they are. I am perfectly well aware that all his statements can be paralleled in Eastern theologians, but I am also quite convinced that there are many Easterns who recognize that such an attitude is an impossible one, and are not prepared to adhere to it. It seems to me, therefore, that the only thing, the right thing, for us to do is to think out, as those who prepared the above document have thought out, the relations from the point of view of the Church of England, to put these before the Eastern Church as representing a sound basis for discussion, and to ask them to approach us in a similar way.

The other night I had a dream. I saw a large plain, and in the plain were a multitude of people sitting in a great circle in chairs. They were all people who said that they were Christians, and it was suggested that it would be a very good thing if they could approach one another and shake hands; but when that was suggested a difficulty at once arose—everyone said: "I am perfectly willing to shake hands with everyone else, but let them get up from their chairs and come to me and shake hands with me." Well, as they all said that, it was quite obvious that nothing could be done. Then someone suggested: "Would not it be better for all of us to go into the middle and shake hands there?" A certain number of people thought it would be a very good idea. Then a number of those people who were sitting in chairs, and who bore the name, as I was told, of Anglicans, suddenly said: "Let us do that; at any rate, let us stand up and show that we are willing to do that, and see if any other people will stand up." So they all did so, and they suggested that they should all come together and shake hands in the middle in a certain way.

Now, as soon as they had done that they looked round to see whether any other people would be ready to get up like themselves, so as to prepare to walk into the middle. Well, there was an old man who was sitting in a great big chair with a lot of people round him, who called himself the Pope, and he said at once: "Do you think that I am going to stand up for anybody? I am Pope of Rome, and all that is worth knowing I know it. What I don't know is not knowledge. I am always right. Let them listen to me and hear what I say, and

let them all come and shake hands with me." And so, though there were some of the people round him who looked very much as if they would like to stand up, they were not able to do it.

And then I looked to the other side of the ground, and I saw a number of people who were sitting on quite low stools. As soon as they heard the Anglicans begin to talk they all began to shout in chorus, without taking much trouble to listen to what was being said:

> "We won't be re-ordained, we won't be re-ordained;
> We are far too slim to be taken in;
> We will never, never, never be re-ordained."

And some people thought that, as what they were asked to do was to shake hands, this was unnecessary. Then there was a nice old man among them, a Dr. Garvie, who was sitting on rather a low stool, and he kept shouting at the top of his voice: "I will never be a member of an established Church."

I looked amongst the Anglicans, and I saw there was a venerable old man, Dr. Stone, and he was sitting in quite a nice chair, very old, which had been made for him by Dr. Pusey, and he kept saying: "We know the Romans do not recognize our Orders, and we know that the Greeks are very doubtful about them; but we have our Orders, and unless people come and be ordained we will not have anything to say to them; and then they are not really Christians, because they are not confirmed."

I saw in another place a lot of old men sitting in rather old chairs—they had once been very nice ones—and they kept saying: "We have never learned anything since the days of the Apostles, and we do not want to learn anything; in fact, we have been fast asleep most of the time, and we want to go to sleep again, and why should you trouble us?"

So the Anglicans remained standing and wondering what was going to happen.

And then I thought I would look at the chairs in which they were sitting. As I said, the chair in which the old Pope was sitting was a very fine one, but I looked at it more carefully, and I saw that sometime or other (about four hundred years ago, I understand) someone with a saw who was called Historical Criticism had set to work and sawn through one of the legs. They had knocked a nail in since and painted it over and made it look quite secure; and now there were other people with saws all sawing away at the other legs. There was Scientific Discovery, and there was Religious Liberty, and there was National Freedom, and they were very quickly getting through all the legs, and it looked very much as if the whole thing might come down; and a good many of the people round were saying: "Hadn't we better mend these legs?" But the old Pope kept saying: "No, we must not change anything; we must not mend these legs. I will go on saying they are

very strong, and what I say is true, so they must be; and we will just put a little paint over them."

And then I looked at the chairs in which the Anglicans had been sitting, and a great many of them were quite nice old chairs; but what I noticed was that all their legs had been mended, and they had been mended in a very ugly way, and great big bits of wood had been stuck on, and they looked rather uncouth, but still they seemed very strong and serviceable. These people with saws had been scratching at them, but they did not seem to have had much effect. And then I looked at the people on the stools, and they were very proud because the people with saws had been able to have very little effect upon them; but that did not seem very unnatural, because their legs were so short it would seem impossible to saw through them—in fact, many of them seemed to have no legs at all to stand on. And then I looked at the chairs in which those old men were sitting, and they were quite beautiful chairs—at least, they had been beautiful about a thousand years ago; but they were all tumbling to bits, and it was quite certain that if once people with saws came they would be down with a crash. And there were some of them who wanted to mend them, but a good many of them were far too sleepy to do anything of the sort, and Mr. Douglas kept saying: "Oh! do not mend them; they are far too beautiful. Do let them sleep."

But the Anglicans still kept standing, and looked to see whether anyone else would get up. The question is how long they would go on standing.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

A NOTABLE BOOK ON REUNION

The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox, especially in Regard to Anglican Orders. By the Rev. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Vicar of St. Luke, Camberwell. (London: Faith Press.) 12s.

THIS book is very opportune and very important. It is opportune, because reunion is in the air, and plans made for reunion are sometimes very volatile, whereas this book never leaves *terra firma*. It is important, because it really puts before English readers the Eastern Orthodox point of view, and does it so thoroughly that the work of Mr. Douglas cannot be ignored in any steps towards approximation between Anglicans and Eastern Orthodox Christians taken in the near future.

Our relations with these Christians have passed through several stages during the last two generations. First there was ignorance tempered with vituperation. We remember reading a description of the

"Greek" Church which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* at the time of the Crimean War. We will not quote it, but mention that it had the merit of giving a charming illustration of a picture of Our Lady of Kazan. The second stage was ignorance tempered with curiosity. We remember giving an address on the Eastern Orthodox Church a good many years ago in the North of England to a gathering of cultivated clergymen. The address was received with interest, and an aristocratic and elderly priest remarked that he had not known that there was any Eastern Orthodox Church. And yet by this time careful spade-work was being done by Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, who was quietly advocating "friendly relations," and by Mr. Birkbeck, who had a deep understanding of Russian mentality and Russian piety, and tried to persuade religious Englishmen that they could learn something from the great national Church of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Birkbeck died in 1917, when the war was raging, the war that brought to England many refugees from Orthodox lands, including several young Serbian students and their priests, among whom was Father Velimirović, now Bishop of Ochrida. Some of the Serbian theological students had been taught in Russia, and it was a surprise and a pleasure to them to see the real Church of England. They had hitherto only known it from caricatures, usually German caricatures, and had much to learn both of Anglican doctrine and Anglican practice. Then came the Greeks and theological conferences in London and Oxford. And when the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a special committee on relations with the Eastern Churches, and invited to the great Lambeth Conference of 1920 representatives of the Church of Constantinople, there were many who only hoped, not that causes of friction would be removed, but that some definite measures towards union would be inaugurated. These hopes were very imperfectly fulfilled, and the Anglican Bishops devoted their attention rather to the question of reunion in Great Britain than the question of reunion with the East.

The line taken by the Bishops assembled at Lambeth is not wholly to be regretted. For it may reasonably be doubted whether any considerable number of them were sufficiently familiar with Eastern theology to tackle so serious a problem, and they have in the meantime learned to know more accurately the difficulties which exist in the way of the home reunion for which they were willing to make such generous concessions. The attention and the interest which, we do not doubt, will be raised by this book will prepare the path for a more serious rapprochement with the East at the next Lambeth Conference. Patience is a divine quality, and Mr. Douglas is right in urging that the time is not ripe for presenting to the Easterns a formal scheme of

reunion emanating officially from the Anglican Churches. We must first understand what the Easterns themselves believe, and state our own belief in terms which are intelligible to Greeks, Slavs, and Rumanians.

Mr. Douglas perceives that if Anglicans are to understand Eastern belief, they must understand the doctrine of *Economy*. It has been to a great extent neglected by English writers, and, in fact, it is not easy either to explain or to defend. Yet it is so important a function of the Church in Eastern eyes that it must not be ignored. It is the means by which a system of extreme rigour becomes tolerant, flexible, and variable to the verge of inconsistency. Readers of Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning" will remember that the Cardinal, extremist though he was, became indignant with some of his priests who absolutely ignored the fact that the greater part of the English people are baptized and "in the supernatural state of grace," and that many Protestants have not lost the grace of baptism. Of course, these English Roman Catholics were ignorant of the theology of their own Church. But they approximated very closely to the opinions which are held in Athens. The Greeks hold that the Eastern Church is the true Church and the only Church quite as firmly as the Pope holds that the great communion which owns his sway is the true Church and the only Church. But the Pope would certainly not say with Professor Dyovouniotos of Athens that "outside of the Church the grace of God does not exist" (quoted p. 61). We find that the Easterns maintain a theory which in the third century of the Christian era would have rejoiced the heart of St. Cyprian. It looks as sharp and clear as June sunlight piercing through the shadows of a group of trees.

But *Economy* then comes upon the scene. Students of early Christian theology know how this word was used to signify the "dispensation" of the Incarnation, so that sometimes it is almost equivalent to the word "Incarnation." The Greeks now use the word of a different "dispensation." It means the power of the Church to use her own discretion "in those matters which neither belong to the realm of dogma nor are governed by œcumenical canons" (p. 55). According to the letter of the law, there are no true sacraments outside the Church; Papist, Armenian, and Anglican are destitute of grace and true means of grace. And yet, as Mr. Douglas correctly says, "economic acceptances of heterodox Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders have been abundant, and in certain cases now have synodical authority" (p. 56). Roman and Anglican baptisms are alike regarded as valid by the Eastern Orthodox, though a hundred years ago they would have been treated as invalid. What, then, are the limits restricting this economy in addition to the limits imposed by œcumenical dogma and œcumenical canons?

According to Professor Dyovouniotos, there seem to be no limits, the Church being able to reject even the sacraments of schismatics "among whom they are accomplished canonically and the Apostolic, succession has not been broken" (quoted p. 60). The Church can establish "the invalid as valid, and the valid as invalid." Professor Androutsos seems to modify this by maintaining that the Church would not, or could not, treat as valid either the orders of heresiarchs and originators of schism or the sacraments of sects which "have mutilated the outward act of the Sacraments" (p. 58).

The bearing of this doctrine of *Economy* on the recognition of Anglican orders is too clear to be mistaken. We believe that Mr. Douglas is quite correct in holding that the Russians are in harmony with this view of *Economy*, and also with the opinion of the Greeks that the exercise of it in our favour would be greatly facilitated by an expression on our side of a clear belief as to the necessity of episcopal ordination and the sacerdotal powers of the priesthood. Possibly he is also correct in thinking that the Russians are more inclined to concentrate their attention upon our *rite* and the Greeks upon the *general attitude* of our Church towards the Eastern Orthodox Church. We doubt, however, whether he is correct in thinking that the Russians were more influenced by Latin scholastic methods than the Greeks, and in tracing to such an origin the Russian treatment of Anglican orders. It was not the Russians who learned from the schoolmen to describe the veneration due to the saints by the word *dulia*, which the Russian theologian Makarius, who is very far from being a Protestant, paraphrases by "a lower respect," using the word which in Russian corresponds with the English "my respects." The Russians, unlike the Greeks, do not regard holy orders as indelible, and they think that a priest who has been lawfully deposed is a priest no longer. The Russians, as Mr. Douglas carefully notes (p. 75), dropped the word "accidents," which the Greeks had accepted in their anxiety to defend the truth of the Real Presence against Calvinistic innovation. The word μετουσίωσις was officially adopted by the Greeks in the seventeenth century, but we think that Mr. Douglas would have done well to have dealt more fully with its earlier use and meaning. The matter is discussed at some length by one of the most important recent Russian theologians, N. Malinovskii ("Orthodox Dogmatic Theology," vol. iv., p. 177*f.*, note 1). Malinovskii says that it is used thrice by Georgios Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1453–1459), and by three writers of the next century, and was finally adopted in order to oppose the teaching about the Eucharist in the work alleged to be by Cyril Lucaris. Malinovskii treats the word as identical in meaning with *transubstantiatio*, and we cannot doubt that he is correct. The Russians use the word *prelozhenie* to correspond with the Greek μεταβολή, and

presushchestvlenie to correspond with μετουσίωσις, as Mr. Douglas notes. The word *transubstantiziatzija* is not really Russian at all, and may be dismissed as one of the jargon words which Slavs borrow from Western languages before they have accurately learned their meaning. Assuming, therefore, that the whole Eastern Orthodox Church has adopted a word equivalent to transubstantiation, it is important to notice that all the Slavs decline to associate this word with the scholastic term "accidents"; and, secondly, that all the Eastern Orthodox would probably refuse to accept the sharpened Tridentine doctrine which was laid down by Rome in 1875.

As an immediate and practical step towards a recognition of Anglican orders on the part of the Eastern Church, Mr. Douglas has, with the help of other theologians, drawn up a suggested Declaration, which he believes could most profitably be signed by "priests of the Anglican Communion." It deliberately, and we think wisely, goes beyond the questions which Professor Androutsos asked with regard to Anglican belief touching the number of Sacraments, Confession, the Eucharist, and the Œcumenical Councils (see p. 14). The eleven sections of the Declaration (p. 90 *ff.*) answer his questions, but also deal with the Œcumenical Nicene Creed, the place of the Thirty-nine Articles in our theology, Ordination, Prayer for the Dead, and Intercession of the Saints. They are composed in language intelligible to Easterns, and we have no doubt that if they are adequately made known they will obtain a sufficient number of signatures to convince our Eastern friends that there exists widely among us a respectful and brotherly attitude towards their Church. That a corresponding attitude may be found among the Easterns is proved by many things, and notably by the very recent and frank statement of a leading Greek professor as to the validity of all Anglican sacraments, and the part taken by a Serbian Bishop in the consecration of the Anglican Bishop of New York. This and other actions of friendship and spiritual hospitality must not be regarded as finally committing the Eastern Church to any collective act or opinion, but they are recognized on both sides as expressions of mutual love and as a stimulus to reunion. In this connection we may mention that Mr. Douglas is not one of those Englishmen who in their desire to conciliate foreigners are ready to throw vitriol in the face of a member of their own Church. He is quite courteous, though firm, in what he says about a Greek theologian who has written a very uncomplimentary sentence about the English Church, and he is equally courteous and firm in what he says about some recently suggested terms of intercommunion coming from the English side.

There are a good many questions which this book will raise anew—*e.g.*, whether the Eastern Orthodox Church in those countries where divorce is scandalously rife considers that *Economy* can be exercised to

invalidate Christian marriages, and whether there has been any general approval of the action of the Serbian Bishops, who are alleged (we hope falsely) to have refused intercommunion with the Czechs unless they gave up the use of the Czech translation of the Roman Missal.

In any case, we are grateful to Mr. Douglas both for what he has written himself and for the very numerous quotations which he has selected from authoritative Eastern documents.

We have noticed one or two small misprints. On p. 51 we find "Magdalene" for Magdalen, and on p. 76 we suppose that "Pius IX." stands for another Pope of the same name.

LEIGHTON PULLAN.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

THE most noteworthy event of the past three months has been the official invitation to the Anglican clergy of Constantinople to officiate at the burial service of the Acting Patriarch, a special request being added that we should wear our vestments. The invitation was accepted by the Embassy Chaplain and the Senior Chaplain to the Forces, as well as by myself. We wore the ordinary quire-habit of surplice, hood, and tippet. Every member of the Holy Synod recited a prayer in turn, then a Russian Archbishop and a Serbian priest; after that I followed by singing "Man that is born of a woman" to Merbeck's music, the Embassy Chaplain went on with "I heard a voice" with inflections, and Mr. Hughes ended with a collect and the Grace. Though our vestments were of a minor order, we were not found wanting in our music, and it should be noted that although the Armenian and Syrian Patriarchs were present with their suites, the Anglican clergy were the only non-"Orthodox" who took part. The Archbishop of Canterbury's rôle at the Greek service in London was significant and epoch-making, but there was something just as unique in the fact that the latter half of the English Burial Service and Merbeck's music should be heard in the Patriarchal church at the headquarters of Eastern Orthodoxy. Canon Whitehouse and Mr. Hughes left after the service at the Phanar, but I thought it right to take my place in the procession to the water's edge and go to Balukli, to the Church of the Life-Giving Fountain outside the walls, where I said a final prayer over the body.

The Holy Synod has recently determined to send a permanent representative to London. The post has been offered to the Rev. Dionyssios Menas, secretary of the Holy Synod, a very able man. He has not yet definitely accepted the offer, preferring to await the election of a Patriarch, so that he may be sure of being in sympathy with the official policy. As I write there is a rumour that the Athens Government intends trying to stop the Metropolitans of Macedonia and Thrace going to Constantinople to take part in the election. There is also curious news from Anatolia to the effect that the Angora Government is insisting on the Orthodox in their power "voluntarily and spontaneously" separating from the Phanar and establishing a Patriarchate at Cæsarea, which is to have jurisdiction over Smyrna and Thrace (when recovered)! The expression "Turkish Orthodox Church" even is used, but, needless to say, that does *not* mean the conversion of Turks to Christianity and the use of a liturgy in Turkish!

Since he wrote to you, Professor Komnenos has discovered a precedent in the Middle Ages which justifies his recommending not only that the offer of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 to give Communion to Eastern-Orthodox out of reach of their own priests should be accepted, but that the same offer should be made to

Anglicans in similar circumstances. His report is, of course, of enormous importance, but it will have to be accepted and endorsed by the Holy Synod before it can be effective, and much water may flow under Galata Bridge before then. The Papalists will be sure to get busy so soon as they hear of it, and leave no stone unturned to stop its acceptance. It will be easy for them to speak of our exchange of pulpits with Dissenters and the proposals for women's ministrations, and to exaggerate them, or, at any rate, represent them in the worst possible light, with a view to frightening the Greeks off any further rapprochement. The new Uniat Bishop has already issued an appeal to the Greeks to "return to the true Church," but I have not yet succeeded in getting a copy. I am also not quite sure whether he assumes the title of Patriarch. Some say that there has always been a titular Patriarch of Constantinople living at Rome, but that now he has been sent to take up his residence here and begin aggressive work.

The Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown has sent me a copy of the new South African liturgy, and asked for the opinion of Eastern theologians as to the adequacy of the form of invocation, and also as to the necessity of repeating it in the event of reconsecration. The above-mentioned Professor has expressed himself as satisfied with the form of words, but as quite unable to admit that any explanation could excuse the repetition of the epiclesis when reconsecrating. The secretary of the Holy Synod was also consulted, and emphasized his great distaste for alternative liturgies. He is of opinion that it will be necessary for *every* branch of the Anglican Church to adopt an epiclesis before complete and formal intercommunion can be brought about.

I have to report the death of the Archimandrite Teknopoulos, who will be remembered by those who took part in the early stages of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union. He held no ecclesiastical post latterly, and lived in retirement very quietly, so that the funeral was over long before I heard of the death. May God give peace to his restless soul!

The Patriarch of the Old Syrians has been inquiring rather anxiously as to whether the Archbishop's Committee is ready to present their test of orthodoxy for his consideration. It seems a pity that this golden opportunity should be missed.

R. F. BOROUGH,
Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

THERE is no need to tell who Bishop Velimirović, Professor Headlam, and Dr. Leighton Pullan are.

The Archimandrite Germanos is the Under Secretary of the Constantinople Holy Synod, and was the chief ecclesiastic in the retinue of the Locum Tenens in London last April.

Archdeacon Malthouras is of Cyzicus, and has for some time been resident in Oxford. He returns to the East this month.

Bishop Rustić is a very distinguished Serbian ecclesiastic, and well known as a writer in that country.

OUR BOOKSHELF

Αἱ Ἱστορικαὶ Μοναὶ τῆς Νήσου Χάλκης and Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον καὶ Ἡ κυρὰ Βασιλική. By the Great Protosynkellos Athenagoras. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920 and 1921.)

In the great Protosynkellos Athenagoras the Phanar possesses a fine scholar and an assiduous archæologist, who is at his best in these two monographs. Halki is, of course, the official theological centre of Eastern Orthodoxy, is of great interest to

English students, who will find great profit from reading these accounts of its famous monastery.

A Mediæval City in Greece. By J. A. Hamilton. (Jolly, Aberdeen. 1921.) 3s.

This admirable contribution to the bibliography of the important city of Mistra is of real interest to the student of the Greek Church. Among other things we note the description of the Mistra St. Sophia as very good.

Lives of the Serbian Saints. By Yanick and Hankey. (S.P.C.K. 1921.) 6s. 6d.

We wish we had greater space to describe this book, which appears as one of the S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Series VII. It contains exactly what is needed to give the reader a whiff of a first-hand impression of Serb psychology. At the same time, it forms a valuable book of reference. We advise our readers to buy it for a permanent place in their libraries.

The Body is One. An Introduction to the Problem of Christian Unity. By C. Beaufort Moss, M.A. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. 6d.

The modest sub-title of this book, and the still more modest Preface, do not at all prepare the reader for its intrinsic value and weight. It is a most complete and practical introduction to a problem in relation to which we venture to express a hope that some suggested schemes of solution may issue in detail at no distant date from the author. For "The Body is One" is a book with a purpose, informative as well as suggestive; a book full of facts, not merely of words or opinions. The historical Introduction to the present problem is excellent and exhaustive, while the concluding chapter is full of valuable suggestions as to the conditions of approach to the solution of the problem of Reunion. Particularly well timed is the emphasis on such points as the sinfulness of schism (a conception lacking in much of what is spoken or written on the subject at the present time), the danger of the proselytizing temper (a danger from which we are by no means yet exempt), the necessity of dogmatic unity (a necessity apparently overlooked in most "schemes of Reunion"), and the freedom from State control (an ideal as yet unrealized in East and West alike); while the summary of the present difficulties and future possibilities of the Anglican Communion is clear and concise.

The author displays throughout a charitable outlook as admirable as it is refreshing in discussions of this kind, particularly in regard to the Church of Rome. We could wish, indeed, that all remarks on this subject were characterized by the same balance, sense of what is due to the Holy See, and abstention from controversial irrelevancies. In passing, we venture to question, in this connection, the desirability of the term "Romanist," however verbally accurate, since ordinarily, though clearly not in this work, it savours too much of Protestant prejudice.

The parts of the book specially relating to the Eastern Church are naturally of the greatest interest to readers of The Christian East.

Particularly informing is the concise summary in Chapter II. of the state of the Church in the Empire between the fourth and seventh centuries; while the description in Chapter III. of the relations between Rome and Constantinople in the period leading up to the Great Schism of 1054 is very fair to both East and West, and true to history. The chapter headed "Light in the East" forms an invaluable introduction to the study of Eastern Christendom, and as such should be read with great interest by the friends and sympathizers of our Association, since it furnishes an excellent synopsis of our aims and activities.

In conclusion, we may add that this work is written from the standpoint of a convinced Catholic, and may be obtained, complete with glossary, appendices, and index, price 4s., from S.P.C.K., or the office of the Association, 24A, St. Charles Square, W. 10.

C. Norman Smith.

This portrait of His Holiness Sahag II., Catholicos of Sis, was taken for the *Christian East* during his late visit to London. The Catholicate of Sis, which as a separate jurisdiction like that of Aghthamar originated in a schism, has long been subordinate to the Supreme Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. His Holiness, however, possesses the full rights of a Catholicos in his jurisdiction which comprises Cilicia. The vestments in which he is shown robed are of the early seventeenth century and are adorned with many jewels, being heirlooms of the Catholicate. He is deeply loved and venerated by his martyred people and has recently applied for an asylum for himself and them in Cyprus.